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A TOUR
IN
SWITZERLAND;
OR,
A VIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE
OF THE
GOVERNMENTS AND MANNERS
OF THOSE
CANTONS:
WITH COMPARATIVE SKETCHES
OF
THE PRESENT STATE OF PARIS.

BY *HELEN MARIA WILLIAMS.*

SECOND EDITION.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

M,DCC,XCVIII.

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A TOUR

A TOUR
IN
SWITZERLAND;

OR,
A VIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE, &c.

CHAPTER XXII.

*Ascent to the Glaciers.—Mountain-Prospects.—Hymn
written among the Alps.*

FROM a little village situated at the foot of the Glaciers, and near the source of the Rhine, we departed early the next morning to scale the mountain that led us to that mighty store-house of winter. Our road lay along the side of a torrent, part of which is applied to the purpose of turning the mill belonging to the hamlet, and watering the little enclosures around it. A path-way had been

formed by the people across the Glaciers, in order to communicate with the inhabitants of the upper part of the valley of Ragantz.

The mountain, like those we had just left in the middle region, on the southern side of St. Bernardin, produced a fine short grass; and the peasants were spreading as we passed their scented harvest, to the pleasant, but fleeting sun-beam, eager to improve the precarious blessing, and snatch the golden moments! Along a fine amphitheatre of mountains, we spied the inhabitants of the various cottages at this pastoral employment, hanging on the steeps like goats, to turn the swath, and leaving us to wonder by what ingenuity the grass was first mowed. These *chalets*, or mountain cabins, are fitted for the region where they are placed, though of an order of architecture

of which Palladio gives no description. They are in general built with the wood of the pine, or the larch, but when not in the neighbourhood of forests, are erected with stone. To most of the chalets the mountain itself affords one side ready constructed, as they are usually placed in such situations that when the avalanche rolls from the top, it shall find no resistance from those habitations, shielded by the friendly hill that rises abrupt behind, but passing harmless over the sheltered dwelling, fling at a safe distance its destructive mass.

In the last of these chalets we stopped to repose ourselves, though we had halted so often to botanize, as the hills abounded in a rich variety of herbs and delicate mountain-flowers, that we had hitherto suffered little from the labor of the ascent; but our ramble, together with the

morning breeze of the mountains, had created no usual appetite; and we sat down to a repast of dried fruits, and coffee, before the door of the chalet, to prepare us for the remainder of our enterprise.

The ascent to the Glaciers on the opposite side of the valley appeared so romantic, that we regretted for a moment that we had not taken a route, which seemed not only pleasanter, but shorter; our mountain companions, however, silenced our murmurs by assuring us that every step we took, though apparently leading us further from the opposite mountain, would at length bring us nearer. We had been so often deceived in our ideas of distances in the Alps, which it requires long usage and a mountain-eye to calculate accurately, that we gave up our reason to the care of these

Grisons,

Grifons, persuaded that some mountain-miracle would be wrought in our favor.

The latter part of our journey was extreme toil; at some distance from the top, the mule which had hitherto carried me was left tied to a rock, and our guides supported me up the rugged steep; my fellow travellers, who were furnished with crampons, little machines buckled to the feet, with points to enable the wearer to keep his hold, purchased their security by excessive fatigue from wearing them.

We were frequently overcome by the extreme heat, as well as by the difficulty of the path, and often stopped to cool our fever at the torrent which we saw bursting above, from its icy source. No inconvenience, we were told, resulted from taking this cooling draught; though far from being convinced of the truth of this

assertion, we were glad to find an excuse in the example of our Grifon companions, for quaffing this delicious beverage; and, like our first parent, “when not deceiv’d, but fondly overcome,” he tasted “of that fair, enticing fruit,” so we, against our better knowledge, scrupled not to drink large libations of this tempting nectarious water.

With an inexpressible sensation of fatigue like the giddiness of delirium, breathless, and burning with heat, we threw ourselves, some time after mid-day, on the grass, along the icy boundary, from whose base rushed the torrent whence we gathered the icicles that again slackened our excessive thirst. These feelings of parched heat were not the effects of fatigue; we had taken as violent exercise beneath the hot noon-tide rays in the Italian vallies, with less feverish

feverish sensations than we now experienced in those regions of winter. After a slight interval of repose, however, we found ourselves restored to that feeling of serene, tranquil delight, for which the philosophers who have written on the theory of the Higher Alps, account, from the purity of the atmosphere at that immense elevation; and which state of soothing happiness Rousseau has described with his usual eloquence, in a letter to Julia*.

While

* The general impression felt by those who scale the higher mountains, where the air is pure and subtile, is a greater easiness in breathing, more lightness in the body, and more serenity in the mind.—Meditation assumes, in those regions, something of a character great, and sublime, proportioned to the objects which strike us; something of tranquil rapture, remote from all that is selfish, or sensual. It seems as if, while raised above the haunts of men, we leave below all mean and earthly sentiments, and that, as we approach the ethereal regions, the soul contracts some-

While my fellow travellers amused themselves by wandering over that world of ice, a difficult and dangerous enterprize, I sat down on the border of the Glacier, to enjoy the new and magnificent vision around me. On the right, rocks and mountains of ice, arose in dread and sublime perspective; before me, St. Bernardin lifted its barren and uncovered top; and nearly in the same direction, the eye wanders over a chain of Glaciers which separates the valley of the Rhine from the subject countries of the Grisons, Bormeo, and the Valteline. These were the Glaciers which, mid-way, we regretted not having scaled, and which our guides told us we should reach sooner than we did. Upon the whole this spectacle has something in it of magic and supernatural, which overwhelms the mind and senses; we forget every thing, we forget ourselves, and have scarcely a consciousness of existence.

in

in the direction we had already taken. So far as we might trust to the testimony of our senses, they were not mistaken. These Glaciers appeared to touch that on which we were now placed; and it seemed as if we had only to descend a little from our present elevation, in order to climb the savage and naked pyramids of rocks which raised themselves up from the far spread desert of ice, like barren islands from a troubled sea. We were, however, separated from those objects by a space of several miles, measured on the ground; but the intervening gulph was hid from our sight by the swell of the mountains. On the left, the eye was borne over the amphitheatre of hills, green with pasturage, up to the ridge of ice, stretching along its own fullen, and perhaps incroaching boundary. The cattle were cropping the herbage on the steep, and the chamois bounding over the rocks,
for

for such the Grifon-peasant told me were a few playful animals I perceived at a great distance at the edge of the Glacier, over which my fellow-travellers were wandering. I employed the hours of meditation in throwing together the new images with which the Alpine scenery had filled my mind, into the form of an hymn, to the author of nature; and no spot can surely be more congenial to devotional feelings, than that theatre where the divinity has displayed the most stupendous of his earthly works.

The lengthening shadow of the icy-wall at the foot of which I was sitting, drew me from my meditations, and I began to be seriously alarmed at the absence of my friends. The opposite Glaciers were now lighted up with that glowing rose-coloured hue, with which

which they are tinged at parting day. I gazed with rapture on this glorious vision, which I had before seen at an immense distance, and with feeble impressions compared to the enthusiastic, the solemn emotion I now experienced. The clouds were rolling high above the valley, but remotely beneath the spot where I stood, in gorgeously coloured billows, as their upper surfaces were tinged by the last rays of the sun.

While I was contemplating these majestic images, my fellow travellers hailed us from a distant part of the mountain, to which they had descended from the Glacier. There was no time left to listen to their

“ Travels history,

Of Anters vast, and deserts idle,

Rough quarries, rocks, and hills, whose heads touch
heaven,”

all

all which I should have been very seriously inclined to hear, if our guides had not reminded us, that though the tops of the mountains where we stood were still rejoicing in the light of day, darkness already brooded over the face of the vallies.

The vapours gathered thicker as the evening advanced; and from the brow of the first slope where we descended, we paused a moment to snatch a nearer view of the tumultuous swelling tide of clouds into which we were about to plunge, rolling in silent but awful discordance along the valley, between the majestic freights of the Glaciers.

We had scarcely gained the spot where we left our mule, before the sun had taken his last leave of the pointed rocks on the opposite Glacier,

and night seemed rising from the valley. We found the bridle in the place where we had tied it to the rock, but the mule, in whose reputation for patience we had placed too much confidence, or who had formed a better judgment of the fit hour of retreat than ourselves, had withdrawn his head, and absconded. I had rather been borne, than supported to this spot, between two of our guides; a mode of conveyance which was both disagreeable and inconvenient. To walk down to the valley was for me impossible, to look for the mule along the mountains would have been a vain attempt, and to have sought another from below, would have delayed our return 'till midnight. In this perplexity, one of our Grison-guides, who had rambled a few paces in search of the animal, returned with his arms full of thrubs, which he placed in two
leathern

leathern girdles fastened to the long poles that are the walking sticks of the Glaciers, and tied them together, so as to form a sort of chair, or litter; on this I placed myself, not without some apprehension, but was carried in perfect safety down to the cottage where we had breakfasted in the morning, and where we found our mule, who had been caught marching homewards early in the evening, and detained by the cottagers till our return.

The hours till midnight were filled up by my fellow-travellers, with accounts of their wonderful visions. I made a number of notes of what I had myself seen and heard of the Glaciers; but after reading the glowing description given of those stupendous phenomena, by Mr. Ramond, in his elegant translation of Mr. Coxe's first edition

edition of his travels, I determined, instead of presumptuously intruding my own imperfect observations, or intelligence, to seize this occasion of introducing that finished essay to the English reader*. Leaving to this charming writer the task of philosophical discussion, I shall here transcribe the hymn I composed on those Alpine summits; conscious how feebly it paints their sublime imagery, and persuaded no pen can define those sensations which are felt by the lover of nature, who wanders amidst those regions of stupendous greatness, and feels, mingled with the thrill of astonishment, the transport of adoration.

* For Mr. Ramond's observations on the Glaciers, and Glacieres, see the Appendix.

A HYMN

A HYMN written among the ALPS.

Creation's God ! with thought elate,
Thy hand divine I see ;
Impressed on scenes where all is great,
Where all is full of thee ! ;

II.

Where stern the Alpine mountains raise
Their heads of massive snow ;
Whence, on the rolling storm I gaze,
That hangs—how far below ! ;

III.

Where, on some bold stupendous height,
The eagle sits alone ;
Or soaring wings his fullen flight
To haunts yet more his own ;

IV.

Where the sharp rock the chamois treads,
Or slippery summit scales ;
Or where the whitening snow-bird spreads
Her plumes to icy gales ;

V.

Where the rude cliff's steep column glows
With morning's tint of blue ;
Or evening on the Glacier throws
The rose's blushing hue ;

VI.

VI.

Or where by twilight's softer light,
The mountain shadow bends ;
And sudden casts a partial night,
As black its form descends ;

VII.

Where the full ray of noon, alone
Down the deep valley falls ;
Or, where the sun-beam never shone,
Between its rifted walls ;

VIII.

Where cloudless regions calm the soul,
Bid mortal cares be still ;
Can passion's wayward wish controul,
And rectify the will ;

IX.

Where midst some vast expanse, the mind
Which swelling virtue fires,
Forgets that earth it leaves behind,
And to its heaven aspires ;

X.

Where far along the desert-sphere
Resounds no creature's call ;
And undisturbing mortal ear,
The Avalanches fall ;

XI.

Where, rushing from their snowy source,
The daring torrents urge
Their loud-toned waters headlong course,
And lift their feathered furge;

XII.

Where swift the lines of light, and shade,
Flit o'er the lucid lake,
Or the shrill winds its breast invade,
And its green billows wake;

XIII.

Where on the slope, with speckled dye,
The pigmy herds I scan,
Or soothed the scattered *chalets* spy,
The last abodes of man;

XIV.

Or, where the flocks refuse to pass,
And the lone peasant mows,
Fixed on his knees, the pendant grass,
Which down the steep he throws;

XV.

Or where the dangerous pathway leads
High o'er the gulph profound;
From whence the shrinking eye recedes,
Nor finds repose around;

XVI.

XVI.

Where red the mountain-ash reclines
Along the clefted rock ;
Where firm, the dark unbending pines
The howling tempests mock ;

XVII.

Where, level with the ice-ribb'd bound,
The yellow harvests glow ;
Or vales with purple vines are crown'd
Beneath impending snow ;

XVIII.

Where the rich minerals catch the ray
With varying lustre bright,
And glittering fragments strew the way,
With sparks of liquid light ;

XIX.

Or, where the moss forbears to creep,
Where loftier summits rear
Their untrod snows, and frozen sleep
Locks all th' uncolour'd year ;

XX.

In every scene, where every hour
Sheds some terrific grace,
In nature's vast, overwhelming power,
THEE, THEE, my GOD, I trace !

CHAP. XXIII.

*Source of the Rhine.—Valley of the Rhine—Splügen.—
Valley of Schams.—Via Mala.*

BEFORE we bid adieu to the Alpine regions, we went up the valley to visit the spot from whence the Rhine draws its first and principal source, at the foot of the Glacier which we had visited the preceding day, but some miles nearer the mass of mountains of which that Glacier is a branch. There are three sources to this celebrated river; one, called the Lower Rhine, rises from that part of the mountain of St. Gothard which stretches behind the valley of Urseren, and flows along the Grison valley of Taversch: the middle source springs from the western extremity of the Glacier of the Vogelsberg, and flowing through the valley of Medels, joins the former, at the distance
of

of some leagues, near the Abbey of Disentis; the Higher Rhine, which is said to have been the only branch known to the Antients, proceeding from the mass of mountains formerly called the Adula, runs from the eastern extremity of the Vogelsberg, or Bird-mountain, below the point called the Moschelhorn; and there, it is said, was built a temple, consecrated to the guardian god of the stream, whose tranquil flumbers Boileau describes in one of his epistles;

“ Au pied du Mont Adule, entre mille roseaux,

“ Le Rhin, tranquille et fier du progrès de ses eaux,

“ Appuyé d’une main sur son urne penchante,

“ Dormoit au bruit de son onde naissante.”

Whether Boileau took part of his description from the statue of this river-god in the Tuilleries, or, what is more probable, the Sculptor borrowed the idea of his statue from the Poet, the place itself is not unworthy of the divinity.

We were now at the source of that river whose gentle current had heretofore glided from its tranquil and solitary abode, to witness the scenes of carnage with which the ambition of monarchs has so often crimsoned its waters, but which then heard the songs of republican triumph, resounding along its distant banks. Happily these banks re-echo no longer the din of war, or the shout of victory; the thunder of the confederated powers on the continent of Europe, against the liberties of France, is hushed; and the fate of this confederacy, like that of Roman greatness, so elegantly described by Montesquieu, may be compared to the course of this river, which, swollen by auxiliary streams to a tremendous flood, sinks at length, a sedge rivulet, into the boundless ocean.—Alas! so long has the iron storm of war raged around us, that the ear is become familiarized

liarized to its founts, and the heart is grown callous to its desolation ! While the rest of Europe is safely sheltered from its fury, why are two nations, formed for mutual esteem and admiration, still fated to brave its horrors, and remain the only votaries at its unhallowed shrine ? Ah, when will Peace, with all her meek-eyed beamy train, with all her blessed attributes, revisit the earth, and begin, once more, her holy, her universal empire !

The valley of the Rhine, which is ten miles in length, from the foot of St. Bernardin to Splugen, is too lofty for any other cultivation than that of pasturage ; on one side the rocks hung over the river clothed with woods ; on the other, the hills rose in successive lawns to the Glaciers ; and no scenes amidst the mountains we had traversed had presented a series of objects more mildly picturesque.

At Splugen this character of soft and placid beauty changes again to the wild and the majestic. This town is the principal depôt of merchandize that passes from Germany, and the Grisons, into Italy; and is the place where the roads divide that lead to the Valteline, and the Swiss Italian Bailliwicks.

At a little distance from Splugen, the piny forests which cover the mountains along the shadowy way, and climb up the lofty steeps, dark, wild, and impenetrable, are half-leafless, and withered on the highest peaks; as if vegetation had been worsted in struggling with nature for existence. Here the Rhine, which had hitherto rolled sometimes a placid, and always an even current, begins first to display its bold and daring character; its waters now fall in one broad expanse over the ledge of rocks that cross the stream,

stream, down into the gulph; then, rebounding from the abyfs, glide fwift as light through the streights of granite that open to admit their paffage, or, where the rocks oppofe their way, lift high their feathery farges, of which the great mafs fall foaming into the depths beneath, and the reft are loft in air.

As we defcended the mountains into the valley of Schams, the favage perspective of the forefts softened into graceful fcenery. Trees of milder climes diversify the prospect, among which the mountain-afh redden the rocks, over which it throws its beautiful clusters of berries in lavish profufion. The valley of Schams, along which the Rhine winds a flow and gentle ftream, amidst a number of fcattered villages and hamlets, abodes of tranquil exiftence, presents a foft reposing landscape, peculiarly foother to the

the traveller, among the Alps, and which unfolds itself from the midway of a solitary mountain, with its wild accompaniment of the dashing torrent.

At one of those villages where we passed a day, we considered ourselves as fortunate in finding a person by whom we were understood ; since the language of this country is not Italian, like that of the Valley of the Rhine, but a composition of all the languages under heaven ; as if the emigrants from the tower of Babel had formed their chief colony in this pleasant spot, and in process of time had amalgamated the confusion of tongues into the jargon called the Romanth. In this wild and uncouth assemblage of words several books are written ; among which we found, in the library of the good old landlady of a village-inn, an huge silver-clasped, and strongly brass-bound Bible, printed

printed in this dialect, and dedicated to George the First. We were also shewn a volume of hymns, some of which were translated to me, and were not unpleasing specimens of mountain-poetry, applied to Alpine images and objects; chiefly those of the vegetable, and flowery world, such as the mountain-ash, the myrtle, the harebell, and the sheltering pine.

The inhabitants of this valley, and of that of the Rhine, are Protestants. In the middle of the fifteenth century they were under the dominions of Nobles, and Bishops, of whom they purchased their freedom, and have since made a part of the Grison government.

In this valley we were nearly on a level with the rest of the world; but in order to escape entirely from this wildness of Alps, we had another mountain
expe-

expedition to make, which, if we had judged from the name it bears, was more perilous than all the past. Why the inhabitants of this country have given the name of Via Mala to the best road among the mountains of Switzerland, it is somewhat difficult to conjecture; perhaps indeed it might once have deserved this epithet, and, like other bad reputations, is still suspected, though its character is reformed. We believed that we had already, during our Alpine journey, exhausted every possible aspect of mountain scenery, and that what remained, however pregnant with the varying images of beauty, or the rugged forms of horror, could offer only the repetition of preceding wonders; we found, however, as we journeyed along the Via Mala, new reasons to pause, and new objects to admire.

After

After crossing the Rhine, which we rejoined at our entrance on this road, we lost at once all view of the fair and ample valley, and found ourselves immured between pine-covered rocks of enormous height, while, in proportion to their perpendicular and stupendous elevation, the river descends into gulphs equally profound. Between these tremendous precipices an excellent road is formed along the side of the mountain, which we passed in such perfect security as left us full leisure to contemplate those mighty cliffs above,

.....“ Whose highest woods, impenetrable
“ To star, or sun-light, spread their umbrage broad
“ And brown as evening ;”

MILTON.

while we listened to the roarings of the ingulphed waters rising troublous from the chasm in which the river had made its channel. After proceeding two or three miles

miles along these precipices, we caught a glimpse of a bridge which hung light in air over the abyss, and seemed more to deserve the reputation of having been reared by supernatural agency than any on which we had yet gazed.

We paused a considerable time on this bridge, that we might fix the scene in our remembrance; on that side of the mountain along which the road we had passed was suspended, rose a majestic swell of pine-covered steeps; on the side where we now crossed, the rock stood abruptly perpendicular, leaving just space enough for the passage, part of which was excavated from the cliff that impended beyond our darkened path, over the gulph. The Rhine, which had hitherto rolled its ample volume, increased by torrents, and by the six rivers from which the valley it had left takes its

Roman

Roman name, now shrunk on the eye from the distance at which we gazed, into a small rivulet, labouring at the depth of many hundred feet beneath the bridge, foaming dark between the narrow clefts, sometimes struggling with the rocks for day, and sometimes entirely hid by their foldings from our view.

After passing some hours of contemplation amidst these scenes, where luxuriant vegetation spreads her flowing veil over the stern brow of terrific wildness, we bade adieu to the withdrawing Rhine, which, after mounting a hill that brought us to a village on its summit, we again beheld in the distance, transformed into a placid expansive river. Descending into the valley, we reached Tufis, the capital of one of the high jurisdictions of the Grison-League. This town, according to the etymologists, was originally Tuscan, which

which they prove in a very satisfactory manner, from the name Tufis, Tufan, with fifty more derivations, till they arrive at Tufcana.

The road from Tufis to Coire lies along a finely cultivated plain, with a soft boundary of sloping hills, clothed with fresh verdure, and woods of thick foliage, and scattered over with villages, and country seats; the Rhine glides tranquilly along the valley, and far above its pastoral banks, Glaciers, mingling with clouds, form a distant horizon. There was something deliciously soothing in this still, quiet landscape, contrasted with the savage chaos of Alpine scenery; it was like reading Thompson's Autumn, or Gray's Elegy, after Milton's battle of the Angels.

We passed the beautiful and picturesque mountain of Heigenberg, which stretches

six miles along the plain, is well peopled with villages, and esteemed the most fertile spot in the Grison dominions.

At Rechinau, the residence of the Imperial Envoy to the Grisons, the two streams of the Rhine form their junction; and they could not have chosen throughout the country a spot more delightful for the friendly meeting that was now to last the remainder of their course. The principal branch was that which we had accompanied from its spring; the other flows along the valley of Sopra Silvas, or the valley above the woods, which is the most populous part of the Grison-League of which Flantz is the principal town, and the place where the General Diet of the three Leagues assembles every three years. This valley is divided from the Canton of Glarus by high mountains and Glaciers, which form, as usual, a

magnificent back-ground to the pastoral country beneath, and is separated at its close, by a part of St. Gothard, from the valley of Urseren. Over the two branches of the Rhine, just above the confluence of their streams, two bridges are built on the same plan as that of Schaffhausen. These bridges, we were told, are much admired for their architecture, and what is termed a sublime simplicity of construction; they may perhaps deserve praise on account of their stability; but surely nothing can be more offensive to the eye than those huge masses, covered with wood, heavy, and mishapen from without; dismal, and dark within; such, in my ignorance of mechanics, appeared to me those bridges which are erected over the rivers of Switzerland in the flat country; and the only architecture of that kind which I thought admirable, were the performances of the Devil

Devil over the abysses of St. Gothard, and the tremendous chasms of the Via Mala.

The Rhine at its confluence, becomes an important river, and flows through the valley with calm majestic pace, under rocks and wooded hills, which in other countries would be respectable mountains, but which shrink into insignificance before the eye that has long been fixed on the gigantic Alps. We passed some miles through a piny forest, and at length, from the pastoral valley of Rechinau, beheld the antique towers of Coire, rising majestically from the deep bosom of encircling mountains.

CHAP. XXIV.

Coire.—Sketch of Government in the Grisons.—Revolt of the Valteline.—Reunion to the Cisalpine Republic.

THE national convention of the Grisons had suspended their sittings two or three weeks before our arrival at Coire. As revolutions were abroad in the earth, it was not extraordinary that some efforts were made to reform an oppressive government, when the means being completely in the power of the oppressed, the execution was neither difficult or dangerous. The changes that had taken place, however, we were informed by some persons at Coire, did not merit the name of a revolution; that what had passed was little more than a struggle for power, and that the only service rendered to the country, was the

col-

correction of a few avaricious individuals of credit and influence, by fines and forfeits, without any reformation of the principles on which they had acted, and in which it was probable they would be imitated by their successors.

The government of this country is democratic, that is a Swiss democracy, where, under the name of liberty, the greatest outrages are committed against the principle. How, or when the Grisons first shook off the yoke of their former governors, is not well known; but the union of the three leagues, of which the Grison government is composed, took place in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The point of contact between the thousand and one republics of this country, for every community is a separate state, and has a different form of government, is a general diet of their

chiefs, held once a year in the capital of one of the three leagues; which diet is formed of sixty-three deputies, sent from the various communities in proportion to their extent or influence.

A disjointed government like this, must necessarily be subject to the influence of political intrigue. The deputy named to the diet by a sovereign peasant of fourteen years of age, or in the direct and unqualified manner in which he is elected by the sovereign fathers, is most commonly either a noisy intriguer, whose pretensions have abashed the man of modest merit, or what is more likely to happen, the wealthy Lord who has corrupted his constituents; bribing being a practice universally admitted amongst the rights of the people in Swiss democracies.

Thus

Thus by intrigue and corruption these democracies become not aristocracies, composed of citizens skilled in legislation, and endowed with principles that tend to the amelioration of society, but oligarchies framed of individuals who consider the rights of the people as their own privileges, and who encourage those vices in the community by which they increase their revenues, instead of checking them by wise regulations, and salutary laws.

These evils would probably have been longer borne without remonstrance, had not the imprudent excess of avarice in the governors at length awakened the resentment of the plundered. In former times, the cupidity of the magistrate had been checked by the fear of the summary punishment of the Straßgericht, a kind of star-chamber, where not only

the guilt of the rich man was sure to meet with expiation, but where even wealthy innocence was insecure; since the Radamanthus of this inexorable tribunal were sharers in the arbitrary penalties they imposed.

The ascendancy of the opulent citizens in the affairs of government has long since brought this tribunal into disuse. It was, indeed, often made the instrument of private hatred, and factious vengeance; but as it was also a terror to evil doers, answered some of the purposes for which it was intended. Since its abolition, says a writer on this subject, "the chiefs make treaties with foreign powers without the consent of their constituents, and sell justice by auction, and ruin those whom they suspect to have interests hostile to their own." This accusation was
made

made against the fathers of the last generation, and it is to be lamented, that their sons not having the fear of the star-chamber before their eyes, or the love of any thing but money in their hearts, have left this fatal propensity to their children, the Grison governors of the present day.

Over this community ignorance holds its leaden sceptre, not the ignorance of simplicity, arising from the want of communication with the world, but from a state of social degradation. In vain some Eurylochus, who had escaped the contagion, endeavoured to reclaim his countrymen by introducing amongst them those arts which soften our manners, and exalt our nature, instituting a college for the instruction of youth at a considerable expence; the generous attempt failed, after a trial of

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some years, and the day of reformation and knowledge was deferred to a more convenient season. In the mean time, the places of authority are bestowed on the highest bidder; the judges divide amongst them the monies extorted from the tortured prisoner; in some districts the trials of criminals are days of festivals to the judges, at the expence of the wretches they condemn; and crimes over which a regard to public morals should throw a veil, are made to flaunt in the face of day, in order that the number of convicts may swell the purse of the tribunal.

The moral and political vices of these democracies can furnish no arguments against governments founded on the rights of the people; since the abuse of principles can never destroy the force of the principle itself. It would be
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inconclusive reasoning to assert that because the *democracies* of Uri and the Grisons are despotic, and corrupt, the *representative* government of France, or any other *representative* government, must necessarily be infected with similar vices. We might with the same truth assert, that because the republics of Greece and Rome, but half known to freedom, were sometimes disturbed by faction, liberty was therefore not made for man; although, perhaps, ignorant of its true principles, one of these republics subdued the world by its valour, and the other dignified it with all that is great in literature, and the arts.

Like the democracies, and other free States of Switzerland, the democracy of the Grisons had its ultramontane territories, and its subjects, its proconsuls, conquered provinces, tributes, homages, and

and other distinguished marks of absolute sovereignty.

The Valteline, comprehending the provinces of Bormio, and Chiavenna, now forming part of the Cisalpine republic, were, at the time of our visit to the Grisons, a dependency of that government. The country of the Valteline is separated from the Grisons on the north, and from the states of Venice on the east, and the south, by Alpine mountains and Glaciers, and is open on the west to the plains of Milan; from which government it was dismembered in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Grisons and the bishop of Coire, the last of whom had pretensions in right of some frivolous donation, and the former reposing their pretensions on those of their bishop, drove out the French,

French, and became the legitimate possessors.

The history of this country is little more than a display of the worst passions of mankind. The bishop was dispossessed of his share of the sovereignty soon after the conquest. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the inhabitants stung to madness by the terrible oppression of their masters, who attempted amongst other acts of tyranny, to introduce by force the reformation which they had themselves embraced, committed a general massacre of such of their oppressors as were in their power, threw off their yoke, and placed themselves under the protection of the King of Spain.

By the aid of the Swiss protestant Cantons, and of France, during the administration

ministration of Richlieu, the Grisons became again masters of these provinces, but with powers more limited. Discontented at the privileges granted to their subjects by the stipulations which they were compelled to make with the French, and which they considered as derogatory to their sovereign dignity, the Grisons sought the aid of their former enemies, the Spaniards, who not only assisted them in expelling the French from the Valteline, but delivered up this unfortunate people whom they had some years before taken under their protection, after having excited them to revolt, into the hands of their ancient oppressors, under whose dominion they have remained till the late epocha of their history.

All that is vicious in the principle of Swiss ultramontane government, was
reduced

reduced to rigorous practice by the Grisons in the Valteline. The wretched inhabitants were not only robbed with impunity by codeftas and bailiffs, who had previously purchased the right of plunder from their co-sovereigns the Grisons, from whom collectively they held their authority; but the history of the shameless manner in which that power was administered, is too disgusting for detail.

Although the inhabitants of the Valteline have been compelled to submit by force to this coarse tyranny, their spirit has never been subdued. The indignation which has led them at the present moment to shake off the yoke of their tyrants, they have inherited in long succession from their fore-fathers, of whose contempt of the Grisons the Duke of Rohan treats in his Memoires

on the Valteline war; where, though an ally of these democracies, he asserts, that “their deplorable corruption is become an incurable evil, proceeding from the nature of the people who have raked together all the vices of Europe without collecting a single virtue.”

The day of deliverance for these oppressed subjects of the Grison democracies was, however, drawing nigh. The shouts of liberty that filled the plains of Lombardy, re-echoed amidst their rocks, and roused into a noble and generous flame the smothered indignation which power had so long compressed. Placed near the spot where waved the banners of the French Republic, the Valtelines were not again compelled to break their chains on the heads of their oppressors, or seek refuge from their
flavery

slavery as heretofore, in the arms of despotism. The will to be free was now become the only price of freedom; and the security of their independence no more reposes on the caprice of princes, who might again betray them, as they have already been betrayed, but is founded on those great and eternal principles, the imprescriptible rights of mankind, which no sophistry can controvert, and which no power can destroy.

CHAP. XXV.

*Grison Mode of negotiating.—Deputation to Buonaparte.—
Buonaparte.*

THE late insurrection of these provinces, was not an ordinary revolt such as had been often excited in these subject States, and which the power of the sovereign aided by that of the Cantons always confederated to crush rebellions, had till now been able to subdue. The presence of French armies, and the establishment of a new republic in the neighbourhood, were circumstances that wore so formidable an aspect, that an alliance of the Cantons in the present instance was judged inexpedient, and the Grisons were left to arrange their own concerns with their revolted subjects. The Grisons were not inclined to try the fate of arms, but
satisfied

satisfied themselves with requesting the mediation of the French Republic to bring back their rebellious children to their duty. This mediation was accepted by the revolted provinces, and it was agreed that deputations should be sent by both parties to Milan, where the French General should hear and decide between them. The subjects sent their deputies immediately, and frequent messages were dispatched to the Grisons, to request the presence also of their ambassador. Some time elapsed, and no ambassador appearing, the French General by means of the envoy of the Republic at Coire, who had often urged the Grisons to fulfil the engagement they had made of accepting this mediation, informed them that the fatal term was fixed at a month from the dispatch of the message. The Grisons continued to keep a profound silence,

no answer was returned, and no deputies were sent. The French General therefore undertook, with the help of the Cisalpine Republic, to settle the business without their interposition; and after recapitulating the causes of the discontent of the governed, and the refusal of the governors to abide by their own engagements, after decreeing that “no people can be the subjects of another people, without violating the principles of public and natural right, and that the provinces were dissolved from every kind of allegiance, declared the people of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, a free and independent nation, and accepted the re-union which they solicited to the Cisalpine Republic.”

The Grison governors, when they saw of how little avail had been their dignified

nified silence, began to reproach each other bitterly for their conduct. The people themselves gave louder tokens of their discontent. Deputies from various communes hastened to Coire, and demanded the convocation of a general diet, the dismissal of the Congress, the renewal of their friendship with France, and the admission of the Val-teline to a part of their sovereignty. These demands were submitted by the Congress to all the communes of the three leagues; their deputies assembled, and after having deposed and arrested the three chiefs, and the whole of the members of the silent congress, and appointed a commission of thirty to reform abuses and complete the revolution, decreed that ambassadors should be sent to demand a revision of the sentence passed against them, to offer excuses for the want of respect in their

government, and to give every kind of satisfaction to Buonaparte.

Buonaparte !—the reflecting mind when it looks back through past ages, sighs with regret while it discerns how enormous is the list of the destroyers of their race, which history presents under the name of heroes; and how small the proportional number of divine original, who have blessed or amended mankind*. Surely from some strange delusion in our nature does it arise, that the strongest passions which have agitated the human breast are those of loose and frantic ambition, delighted in making the world groan under its chains; or of profligate glory, quenching its insatiate thirst at the torrent of tears which it forces humanity to shed. The lessons of temper-

* And all of God who bless mankind, or mend."

ance with which fages have interposed to calm the fury, or moderate the rage of the conqueror, have sunk under the genius of the poet; who, with confederated frenzy, has goaded on to new crimes, by stringing to his immortal lyre the praises of heroes who were past, and extolling with frantic rapture those brilliant actions which shrink from the test of moral scrutiny.

Happily a new æra opens to the world; the maddening charm of the poet is at length dissolved by the mild wand of philosophy, and the heroes meet arises from other exploits than those of multitudes destroyed, and provinces desolated. It is not Buonaparte scaling the Alps, and chasing the imperial eagle back to its haunts, after tearing from its beak its choicest prey, that claims the transport of admiration; his acts of valour

may have been unequalled ; the heroes of ancient and modern times may sink before him ; “ his penetrating mind,” to use the animated language of the statesman, “ may master fortune and enchain futurity ; his commanding genius may be unrivalled as his courage ;” but these are not his loftiest honours ; these are not his proudest claims to glory ; what swells the heart with reverence, is not the hero standing in the breach, it is the benefactor of his race converting the destructive lightening of the conqueror’s sword into the benignant rays of freedom, and presenting to vanquished nations the emblems of liberty and independence entwined with the olive of peace.

This is, indeed, a novelty of greatness ; these are unparalleled acts of pure expansive beneficence ; nor do we wonder

der to find associated with such a mind, “that distinguished simplicity of taste, that love of abstract science, that profound contempt for luxury and splendor, the attributes of common souls;” and, what excites in my heart, some emotion of national pride, “that sympathy with the elevated sentiments, the pathetic sublimity of Ossian; Ossian, the companion of his solitary hours, who seems to raise him above this terrestrial region.”

“The glory of Buonaparte,” says the eloquent minister, “belongs to the revolution, to his valorous soldiers, to France.” The glory of Buonaparte soars beyond these limits, however enlarged, or extended; he belongs not exclusively to France, or her revolution; like Homer, or Newton, Buonaparte belongs to the world.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Baths of Pffyffer.—Sargans.—Wallenstad.—Views of the Lake.—Journey over the Mountains.—Mountain Phænomena.

THE road from Coire lies along the banks of the Rhine, through an ample valley, bounded by mountains which still retain some features of the savage Alpine character. The landscape softened its rugged brow as we advanced through pastoral meadows to Mayenfield, which we went out of our road to visit. This town is the boundary of the Grison government, and from some peculiarity in the original contract of union, is at once subject to the Grison league, and co-sovereign. Returning back towards Coire, we crossed a bridge over the Rhine, and followed the road leading to Ragatz, and the baths of Pffyffer. These baths are resorted to by the sick, for the cure of various maladies; and to the lovers

lovers of nature in her most romantic garb, no residence can be more delightful than the habitation which is built for the reception of visitors. The water is conducted to this dwelling by pipes; the place where it takes its source, and where with great inconvenience, and even danger, the sick were formerly compelled to descend, being now visited only by those who are curious to see a gulph which conveys an image of the more tremendous abysses of the Alps.

The Abbey of Pffyffer is situated on the hill rising from the Rhine, and commands a magnificent view over the country beneath. The Abbot is Prince of the Empire, and Seigneur, not only of the baths, which are greatly indebted to his munificence and that of his predecessors, but also of all the country around. The Abbey is of the order of St. Benedict,

and dates its origin from the eighth century.

From Ragatz we journied on to Sargans, a Bailliwick belonging to the eight original Cantons, who each in their turn fend a Bailiff, whose office lasts two years. The town is situated on a gentle ascent, beneath the lofty Schalberb, which forms a chain of the mountains of Appenzell. The castle, which was the constant residence of the Counts of Sargans, is seated on a rock that overlooks the town, and presents a picturesque appearance from the road. The inhabitants are of the mixt religion, and have some sort of privilege in the election of their magistrates under the inspection of the Bailiff,

The town of Wallenstadt, subject to the eight Cantons, and comprehended in the Bailliwick of Sargans, is situated at
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the head of the lake which bears its name, and is one of the principal depôts of merchandize passing between the Grisons and Switzerland. As almost the whole of this region is subject-country, there is little diversity in their forms of government: some have more privileges than others; but all are subject to the sovereign will of the free Cantons, and of the Bailiffs, their legitimate representatives.

The weather was remarkably fine when we arrived at Wallenstadt, although the rain which had fallen during the night, had spread over the mountains a thin covering of snow. We concluded that in two or three hours we should be transported down the lake to Wesen, as we came in time to take advantage of the easterly wind which we were told blows in that direction the first half of the day.

day. The morning of our arrival was, however, an exception to the general rule, and the wind blew obstinately from the west. The boatmen seemed disinclined to venture; and the master of the inn supporting their representations, we discontinued our instances; and fearing the wind might remain in the same humour the next day, and the day after, determined to render ourselves independent of its caprice, by travelling along the southern side of the lake, and over the mountain, to Glaris.

The road we were assured was very practicable; and such it might be deemed by the inhabitants of those wild regions, and by ourselves indeed, accustomed as we now were to difficult enterprizes in travelling; but as the common mode of transport is by water, no attention was paid to keep it in repair. In some places

we

we were obliged to descend into the lake, in others to climb over rocks, trusting to the prudence and skill of our horses, rather than to our own judgment. But the dangers of the way were often forgotten in admiration of the scene through which it led.

On the southern side of the lake along which we journeyed, the swelling hills are covered with fine pasturage, and romantic woods, interspersed with hamlets and cottages up to the lofty snow-covered steeps that form the mountains of Glaris. Over the lake on the northern side, the Glattewand reared its perpendicular head near two thousand feet from the water, and presenting along its edge a terrific prolongation of inaccessible rampart, far as the Ammon, from whose still loftier summit the Ammenback rolls, in majestic cataracts, its ample volume, whose sweep-
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ing grandeur and resounding roar, though softened in their effect by the distance, fixed us long to the spot from whence we gazed.

After a ride of some hours, we quitted the lake, and began to ascend the mountain of Kerenzen. Here the path became still more dangerous, sometimes leading us to the very edge of the precipice, which hung over the distant mass of waters, far beneath, and sometimes being so perpendicularly steep, that we owed our safety entirely to the goat-like habits of climbing which our horses had acquired in their travels over the Alps.

The Swiss mountains seldom furnish objects of perspective; but the prospect from Kerenzen left us no regrets for the westerly wind, or the difficulties of the journey. We had now ascended the
moun-

mountains of Glaris; the views we had hitherto enjoyed unfolded themselves in more ample extent; and the enormous ridge of rock on the northern side of the lake fell beneath our eyes, and seemed only to skirt the waters. In the background of the heights on which we stood, the eye ranged over craggy peaks and summits, far as the immensely distant Alps and Glaciers of the Tyrol. Their snows were tinged with the purple light of the last beams of the sun, which, encircled by a glorious canopy of clouds, was descending on the lake of Zurich, that lay before us in long perspective, blazing like the orb which lent its lustre; and when viewed through the telescope, presenting its ruffled waters, and the vessels gliding on their surface, like the tremulations on the disk of that luminary, and the spots within its circle.

We had loitered high up the mountain, led on by the majestic scenery both of heaven and of earth, when we were informed by the knot of peasants who had assembled around us from the little huts in the neighbourhood, and had been amusing themselves also in peeping occasionally through our glasses, that the storm was rising from the lake, and might reach us before we descended to the village where we had left our horses. We could perceive no appearance of this threatened tempest; but soon after we heard the thunder rolling along the opposite cliffs, and found that the mountaineers were endowed with clearer perceptions of discovery than ourselves. We had not proceeded far before our own mountains became the seat of uproar, and fantastic tortuous threads of lightning twisted themselves around us, and flashed before our eyes in forms of endless variety.

riety. The peasants having assured me that those vivid lightnings played harmless in that region, we descended still further, and had taken leave of our guides, as we were now within reach of the village, when we stopped to gaze on another phenomenon, no less remarkable than the former. This was the slow approach of the genius of the storm, in his habitation of pitchy darkness, and which appeared as if one of the adjoining mountains was on its march. This immense, and apparently ponderous body of clouds, moved onwards to a spot not far distant from us, before we could well appreciate its substance; when the moon rising behind us suddenly, threw her bright beams on the vapourous mass, and presented to our gaze a perfect rainbow, chastened in its colours by the soft reflection of lunar light. This mountain of clouds remained fixed in its station, from the dying away

of the breeze by which it had been impelled, till at length it sunk into air, and no longer chained us to the spot by the strong attraction of a new and sublime image of nature.

CHAP. XXVII.

Glaris.—Antient and modern Modes of human Traffic.

—Democratical Government.—Description of a popular Assembly.—Religious Toleration.

THE next morning we crossed the Walenberg, and descended into the valley of Glaris, through forests of pine, and pasturages, sprinkled over with cattle, the road offering at every step rich prospects of the lake of Zurich, and the country rising from its banks. In the opening of this valley are seated two or three pleasant villages, of which Nefels is celebrated for the victory gained over the Austrian army, at the close of the fourteenth century, when about four hundred men, by a Sampson-like manœuvre, defeated a numerous host, by rolling stones from the mountains, and crushing the invaders, who were entangled in the ravins

beneath.—The town of Glaris is neatly built, and the principal street is ornamented with fountains. This indeed is a decoration that belongs to most of the towns of Switzerland; the streets are usually purified, and enlivened by limpid currents, which flow along their sides; and the highest roads are often cheered with the same lavish gift of nature. I observed that wherever I wandered in Switzerland, on mountain, or in valley, I never ceased to hear the sound of waters; the rill, the brook, the lake, the torrent, the cascade, in all their rich variety of tones, sometimes soft, sometimes loud, strike successively upon the soul, or fill up one mighty harmony. The appearance of Glaris, buried between lofty and almost perpendicular mountains, which were covered from the storm of the preceding evening with a layer of snow, is picturesque and romantic; but the city is
placed

placed in the most inconvenient part of the valley.

We ascended no further than Glaris, and were therefore deprived of the gratification of seeing those parts of the Canton which are esteemed the most beautiful and interesting. Mr. Ramond observes, that this country, secured by impregnable mountains, “seems to have been destined by nature for the inviolable asylum of liberty.” The mountains may have been powerful auxiliaries in the attainment of liberty; but without the unconquerable mind, the firm purpose to be free that first broke the chains of servitude, mountains would have proved but feeble ramparts. Those of the “iron frontier of France” were twice found insecure against the invading host; and it was on the plains of Champagne, and Fleurus, that the

Genius of War bent, before that of Liberty.

The histories of these Cantons are nearly the same; the same sovereignty and the same servitude. Some of the Cantons bore the yoke of Kings, some of Nobles; that of Glaris was under the tutorage of the Abbess and Nuns of Seckingen, who transferred their privileges to the son of an Emperor. The Swiss appear to have been treated with as little ceremony in those days, as the Poles in our own. There is, however, one circumstance belonging to this species of traffic in which the refinement of our civilized times claims the pre-eminence over the barbarous ages; the rights of mankind were then the only objects of barter, while one of the most profitable branches of commercial speculation at present, is the sale of the species itself,

itself. Yet from this monstrous, this colossal crime, many of the nations of Europe turn away abhorrent; and the execrable traffic belongs almost exclusively to that despotic country which first discovered, and which still holds in her feeble, but oppressive grasp, the western hemisphere; and to that island which was the birth-place, and the refuge of liberty; but where now,

“ Stern Independence from his glebe retires,
“ And anxious Freedom eyes her drooping fires;
“ By foreign wealth are British morals chang’d,
“ And Africk’s sons, and India’s, smile aveng’d.”

MRS. BARBAULD.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, the neighbouring Cantons having driven the Austrians out of their own country, rendered the same service to the Canton of Glaris; and the battle of Nefels confirmed the quiet possession. The Government is purely democratical, A Council
of

of Regency, consisting of sixty-three members, compose the executive power, of which the officer called the Landaman, is the chief. The legislative power resides in the mass of the people, above the age of sixteen, who meet in general assembly once a year, to propose laws, or sanction regulations provisionally adopted by the executive power; to make alliances, declare war, or peace, and name their public officers. These assemblies are held, for the most part, in the spring; Mr. Ramond gives an interesting account of one at which he was present when the treaty with France was the subject of discussion. A fall of rain had swelled the torrents, and prevented the greater part of the Sovereign people from attending. The Canton, it seems, was divided into two parties, one of which was in opposition to the reigning powers. This party, being on the right side of the
torrents,

torrents, were for proceeding immediately to business, and catching the favourable opportunity of the fall of rain which prevented the arrival of their opponents. But, after long debate, this proposition was over-ruled, and the meeting adjourned.

“ During the Sunday,” continues Mr. Ramond, “ the Voters came into Schivanden from all sides ; and the number being nearly complete, they assembled, the following day, on a meadow of a few acres, at the foot of a mountain and near the village, where the general assembly is held. A quadruple row of benches was placed, and a circle formed of more than three hundred feet in diameter. The magistrates having taken their seats in the inner part of the circle, the people, consisting of about four thousand men, all armed, seated themselves on the other benches,

benches, without distinction, except their pastors, who were placed next their magistrates. The President stood leaning on the sword of Liberty, near the centre of the circle, with the Secretary, and two Serjeants, dressed in the livery of the Canton. The women keep at a distance ; but boys not yet sixteen have a right to go within the circle, provided they remain seated, and do not disturb the deliberations*.”

“ The Assembly was opened by a discourse from the President, who gave an account, with noble simplicity, of the

* “ The President leans on a long and heavy cimeter, being one of those which were formerly employed in driving out the Austrians. It is without ornament, and was the sword of some valorous patriot of the fourteenth century. What a sceptre is such a sword, when it is a Republican who wields it !”—M. RAMOND.

details

details of his commission, and of the reasons which had led him to sign the treaty.....He then proposed its ratification, for which the Ambassador of France was waiting at Soleure. An object of such importance should be decided by the majority of voices; but the whole Assembly cried out with one voice, that it was useless to count them, and that if there were a citizen present who was not a friend to the French, it was better he kept himself concealed. The acclamations were redoubled with a transport of which I explained the cause, and not without some pride, to my English companions."

This overflowing affection might possibly have been founded on honourable motives, yet it is difficult to discover at first sight, what was the tie of sympathy

between the two Governments. Habitual intercourse sometimes changes repugnance into friendship; and it was perhaps from those habits that the Democracy of Glaris, like the other Democracies of Switzerland, became enamoured of the despotism of France. But it is singular enough, that when France, in becoming free, deserved and claimed the continuance of this faithful attachment, we then saw no President of any Canton of Switzerland "leaning on the sword that had heretofore been the instrument of repelling Austrians," propose the renewal of a treaty with France; we heard no unanimous exclamation, that "If there was a citizen not a friend to the French, he had better keep himself concealed; and, no message proposed with bursts of applause, to the French Ambassador at Soleure. These republican allies of
France

France had driven him, in the moment of her distress, to seek refuge in another district.

The popular Assemblies of the little Cantons have excited the enthusiasm of generous minds, who fancied that they saw in those democracies the return of the age of the old Romans, and the republicans of Greece. The elegant writer whom I have quoted, admits however, that the history of Switzerland furnishes terrible examples of the furious passions at those meetings.

We have already mentioned the project of the Opposition upon the swell of the torrent. "The tumultuous menaces and pressure of the turbulent groupe on the President and Council," adds M. Ramond, "presented a spectacle frightful indeed to those who had been accustomed

customed to peaceable assemblies." Rouffeau had also probably overlooked those inconveniencies of Democracy, when, in his Social Contract, he treated representative government as a political heresy, and became the panegyrist of those lesser tyrannies, from disgust, no doubt, at the monotonous oppression of despotic governments.

This Canton presents a truly amiable picture of religious toleration: while, in the other governments of Switzerland, the dominating religion

"Bears, like the Turk, no Brother near the throne,"
POPE.

here the diversity of faith makes no distinction in charity, and the only difference is in the preponderance of numbers. The Protestants being the great majority, the President of that profession remains

remains in office three years, while the Catholic holds his seat but two; the Council of Regency is also chosen in the proportion of the population. The church is common to both sects; and nothing is in difuse with both parties but the organ, which, being an essential part of divine service, cannot be supposed to emit with equal harmony orthodox and heretical sounds.

The love of dominion, in other respects, pervades this Canton, as it does all the others of the Confederation. This democracy has also its appropriate subjects in the country of Verdenberg, and its share of different subject countries in Switzerland, such as the Rhintal, Sargans, Thurgovia, and the dominions beyond the Alps. So great is the purity of manners in this Canton, that no capital crimes are committed, and the name of a public

execution is not known. Twenty years since, we are told, that a foreign executioner was hired for this disagreeable office; yet I heard from a respectable Magistrate of Basil, that, not above ten years since, the Judges of this Canton condemned an old woman to death, under pretence of her being a Witch.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Lake of Zurich.—State of Literature.—Government.

*Revolt against the Government.—Public Seminaries
and Hospitals.—Religious Education.*

FROM the Canton of Glaris we traversed part of the Canton of Schweitz to Lachen, a port on the Lake of Zurich, for the merchandize consigned to the Grisons or Italy: Here we embarked, bidding adieu to Glaciers, rocks, and torrents, for a landscape diversified with all the milder beauties of nature, such as pastoral hills, gardens, vines, orchards, and fields of corn, and interspersed with country seats, and well built handsome villages, which presented themselves in graceful variety on each side of the borders of this charming Lake.

These inland seas not only form one of the most interesting objects of Swiss perspective, but also one of the most convenient modes of communication. A greater quantity of cultivated land, and fewer lakes might, perhaps, be more useful, though it would be less picturesque; and it was, no doubt, with this patriotic persuasion, that a citizen of some eminence at Lucerne, while I was dwelling with rapture on the romantic beauties of his lake, observed to me, that had they a King in Switzerland, he would soon find means of drying it up. How strange an idea this republican had formed of the taste and power of Kings!

The lake of Zurich is about thirty miles long, and from two to three miles broad; the bridge of Rapperschwill is built across the narrowest part, and appeared as we past under it, to be upwards of a mile in length.

Zurich

Zurich enjoys a high pre-eminence above the other towns of Switzerland for private and domestic virtues; and is also the principal seat of the sciences and arts. This town has been called the Athens of Switzerland, and there is no place where literature is cultivated with more ardour, or where the public mind is better informed.

This taste for letters, whatever tendency it may have had to purify their manners, has been ineffectual to correct the vices of the government. The Canton of Zurich, like that of Basil, has its great and little councils, and two Burgo-masters; it contains upwards of one hundred and seventy thousand souls, but the sovereignty resides in a portion only of the citizens of Zurich not exceeding two thousand; if, therefore, the superior magnitude of this Canton to that of Basil be considered, and

the disproportionate numbers who possess the rights of sovereignty, Zurich will be found the more despotic government.— Of these two thousand, two hundred only are invested with power, the remainder having no other privilege than that of being raised by the choice of the councils to a share in the dignity when a vacancy happens by death; so that the government is nothing but a mere oligarchy, incompatible with every idea of a free political institution.

The system of monopolizing is practised with greater severity in this town than at Basil. In the former Canton, all who are not of the number of the elect, and within the pale of the two thousand, are strangers, subjects or serfs, and can engage in no commerce, exercise no profession, or even hope to arrive at the dignity of Burgher, which confers these important privileges,

privileges, it being now near two centuries since this corporation has permitted any accession to its members. This civic degradation is, however, but a negative kind of punishment compared with the vexations to which the unprivileged classes are compelled to submit at the nod of the Burghers their sovereigns. The peasant is strictly prohibited transmitting the object of his industry and labour across the limits of his Canton, or in any other direction than that of the town of Zurich. To labour for the profit of the Burgher is the occupation of his life, and the end of his existence; to murmur is treason, to resist is death.

The French revolution has numerous advocates in the town of Zurich, men highly enlightened and ardent in the cause of liberty, and the veto of the censor of the press is said to be less rigid than in

the other parts of Switzerland. Whence then did it arise, that no advocate but the pen of a foreigner was found to plead the cause of the subject towns of the Canton, when two years since their representations of the abuses under which they groaned, and their demands of redress were answered in the usual stile of reply to such treasonable petitions and remonstrances, by imprisonment, fines or banishment?

Were the boasted happiness of the subject classes of Switzerland founded in truth, it is not probable that revolts against the sovereign would be so frequent. No people revolt against happiness. The insurrection in the middle of the last century of the subject inhabitants of four Cantons, known by the name of the Peasant's War, when Berne was besieged with their wooden cannon, was certainly

certainly no rebellion against their own prosperity ; and the towns and villages of the Canton of Zurich, when in 1795, they produced their charter in proof of the justice of their claims, were in no conspiracy against comfort and independence. It is true that the insurgents were not beheaded like the officer who some years since discovered in the dust of the archives some musty record of their ancient rights which he communicated to a friend ; but they are smarting severely, at this moment, under the effects of the insulted dignity of the sovereign burghers.

We are told that at Zurich, more than in any other town of Switzerland, that zeal for liberty which distinguished the founders of this brave nation, is still cherished. But a hero of the fourteenth century, who chased the Austrians from the foil, would, perhaps, frown with contempt

tempt on this boasted spirit of freedom, could he behold the recent severities which these republican lovers of equal rights have exercised against their oppressed subjects. The municipal and internal regulations of this city are highly worthy of praise. The government has founded various establishments for public relief and instruction ; amongst the former is the orphan asylum, the institution for apprenticing poor children, and furnishing their parents with money, clothes, and religious books ; the hospitals for incurables, and also for the sick and diseased of every religion and country. For the purposes of instruction several academies are supported at the expence of government, public education being the affair of the State. Among other institutions are colleges for the classics, and belles lettres, and arts, and also for students in theology. Religious impressions are very early inculcated,

culcated, and nothing that I saw in Switzerland has left a more pleasing impression on my mind than a numerous audience which we found assembled on entering a large church at Zurich, and composed entirely of children who were receiving instruction from their ministers in their religious duties. It requires but little knowledge of the human heart to feel the inestimable advantage of impressing early on the ductile mind those habits of virtue and piety which shed a cheering and steady light over the intricate mazes of a turbulent world.

CHAP. XXIX.

Return to Lucerne.—Stantz.—Visit to the Abbat of Engelberg.

AFTER revisiting Basil, we returned again to Lucerne. Our stay in this place had been too short in our way over the mountains to take more than a transient view of the surrounding country; but a still more powerful motive engaged us to return; one of our fellow-travellers in crossing mount Albis to meet us at Zurich, having had the misfortune to be thrown from his carriage, was confined with a broken limb at Lucerne. Though I am not permitted to name the person to whom I allude, those by whom he is known will admit, that if any human being has a claim to the sympathetic duties of friendship, it is he who unites with all the higher qualities of the mind,
a heart

a heart glowing with the purest feelings of philanthropy, and more unfulled by the slightest taint of selfishness, than any other character I have ever observed.

During our stay at Lucerne, we visited various parts of the country bordering on the lake. The first of our excursions was directed towards the Canton of Underwalden, into which we passed across the branch of the lake that washes the base of mount Pilate, from Winkel to Stantzstad, the port belonging to the capital of the Canton, which is the town of Stantz.

This town, or rather great village, is about two miles distant from the lake, seated amidst charming meadows and gardens, with a noble back ground of well wooded mountains. The church is

a fine building, supported by magnificent columns in marble, and the town-house is also a respectable edifice; but the most illustrious ornament of the place is the statue of the immortal Winkelried, who stands erect on a pedestal before the principal fountain, holding one of the spears which was grasped by some hero in the battle of Sempach.

The rain had confined us for some hours at this town, and we were fearful that the increase of the torrents would prevent our expedition to Engelberg; but a gleam of sunshine invited us to proceed. After leaving Stantz, we passed along a delicious valley thickly sown with cottages, hamlets, and farm-houses, agreeably shaded with fruit-trees. Five miles beyond Stantz the valley closes, and we ascended the mountain three leagues to Engelberg. Our path lay along a torrent

rent stream over hung by forests of pine, and the scenery, without presenting the stupendous grandeur of the Alps, was rich in the usual wild and romantic appendages of Swiss mountains.

Having attained the summit, we passed by a winding descent into a valley seated within a circle of lofty hills, covered with wood, or pasture; beyond which rise the majestic chain of mountains, whose tops are covered with perpetual snow. This valley, placed amidst a chaos of rocks and Glaciers, is about two miles in length, and one in breadth; in the centre are situated the village and abbey of Engelberg. The latter is an edifice of fine construction, particularly the church, built in part with a kind of black marble, quarries of which are found in that country; this structure, displaying the elegance of art, forms a striking contrast

contrast to the furrounding desarts of nature.

We arrived too late in the evening to present our letters to the Abbot, and therefore took up our residence at the inn of the village, where, though accustomed to mountain air and accommodation, we passed a night of piercing cold, arising probably from the recent fall of rain which had thrown a veil of snow over the surrounding hills.

Early the next morning the Abbot, who is a Prince of the Empire, sent his chancellor to invite us to repair to the monastery, where we accompanied him, and were introduced to a venerable looking priest, who received us with the most cordial hospitality, kindly reproaching us for the late hour of our arrival,

arrival, and lamenting, with the politeness of a man of the world, that I had been exposed to the inconveniences of the homely inn.

As it was Sunday, the duties of the morning, he informed us, compelled him to remit his attentions towards us for a short time, which we might employ in viewing the library; this, however, we deferred, and accompanied the chancellor to a gallery in the church which was crowded with villagers.

In those elevated regions, beyond which no human creature can exist, and where nature itself seems to expire, the inhabitant of the distant mountain, and he that dwells in some remote glen of the valley, secluded by their situation from the world, and by their daily occupations from the society of each

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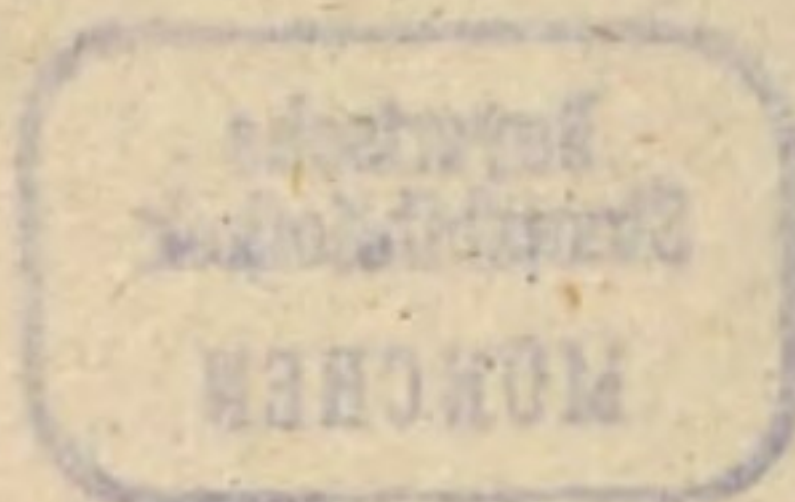
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other, hail the return of the day set apart for religious observances, as a double festival, as a means of intercourse with earth, and with heaven. The pomp and ceremonial of the worship must also be peculiarly striking to the imagination of the peasant, who, confined to a nook of his native hill, has never formed any comparative ideas of splendour or magnificence; and the Abbot has rendered the solemnities of the service still more affecting by the charm of delightful music.

Nothing could be more congenial to those finer emotions of the soul which rise into devotion than the harmonious symphonies that thrilled upon the ear, while the lifted eye fixed itself upon the vast perspective sweep of snow-covered Alps that form the stupendous horizon of the valley. In the foreground



ground of this gigantic mass stands the bold impending mountain from which the monastery takes its name* ; and on which sublime orchestra, not unworthy of the celestial choir, angels are fabled to have tuned to their golden harps the auspicious hymn of its consecration.

The Abbot is Sovereign Lord of Engelberg, under the protection of the four adjoining Cantons. The number of his subjects over whom he holds unlimited jurisdiction, amounts to about twelve hundred. The cares of his executive government devolve on four or

* Engelberg, in the language of the country, signifies the mountain of angels. Whatever intercourse his predecessors might have had with these heavenly messengers, the prince, citing a line from an epistle of Horace, declared to one of my fellow-travellers his doubts respecting this celestial consecration.

five ministers and officers; and the judicial power is entrusted to four judges, whom he chuses out of twelve previously named by the people; these, with the ministers above mentioned, form the civil and criminal tribunals of his state, which are held in a room of the Abbey, and of which his chancellor is secretary.

Such is the form of government in this community: not indeed composed in the newest stile of political organization, but such as from the administration of the present sovereign, is felt as a blessing by all who live under its influence. This prelate whom the united voice of his people stamps with the honourable name of father of his country, has rendered tribunals civil and criminal of little use, by cherishing in his subjects the spirit of equity and for-

forbearance, and reconciling their differences himself. The good Abbot is not only the healer of divisions, but has introduced a system of wealth and comfort to the lower classes by employing them in manufactures which beguile the length and counteract the severity of the savage winters.

This prince is a considerable manufacturer himself, and carries on a very extensive commerce in cheese. The profits of his trade, and his other revenues, which amount to upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand livres, are expended in acts of beneficence and hospitality. Every wanderer has here his claims to protection allowed, and every visitor finds a welcome. We sat down to table a numerous family, composed of French emigrant priests, the monks of the convent, and occa-

sional visitors. The table was served with plenty and hospitality; and the chamois, the mountain venison, made a part of the repast; but what was most agreeable in the entertainment, was the frank and courteous demeanour of the venerable host.

Among the treasures of the convent, the library holds a distinguished place, and is valuable not so much for the number of the volumes it contains, which do not amount to more than ten or twelve thousand, as the rarity and early date of the editions. The next valuable treasure of the Abbot was the dairy, or repository of cheeses; for we neither heard or saw any thing of those miserable impositions on the faith and understanding, commonly called relicks, which had been so often shown to us in catholic churches and convents

as

as objects of inestimable worth, compared with which books, and even whole magazines of cheese, would weigh nothing in the balance. The Abbot, a man of sense and literature, as well as piety, has thought it better for the happiness of his flock to strengthen their understanding, and amend their lives, than to add to the stock of their prejudices and follies.

We found the monks who formed his society, and the students who receive their education in the seminary, were lovers of the liberal arts. For the entertainment of the latter, the Abbot has converted a portion of the upper part of the convent into a theatre. It was not in a monastery, placed amidst the rocks and snows of Switzerland, that we should have expected to find assembled so

many of the properties of Parnassus.

I had almost forgotten to mention that the Abbot had a private treasure separate from the convent, which consisted in great varieties of artificial flowers, and other elegant works, which were stowed in boxes in his apartments. These were the performances of two emigrant nuns, to whom he had given an asylum in the monastery, and whom he rescued from the pains and penalties of idleness by this exercise of their talents. A part of these ornaments he reserves for presents to his female visitors, the rest are disposed of at Lucerne for the profit of the artists.

The mineral productions of the mountain constituted another part of his treasure ;

treasure; many of the specimens were rare and curious; as a female, the Abbot ought to have given me a nosegay of flowers, but, thinking probably the present more portable, he presented me with two very fine specimens of the purest rock-chrystal.

I should gladly have accepted the pressing invitation of the Abbot, and his household, to pass some time at the monastery, but one of my fellow-travellers, who is now an envoy to a German Court, and who was then on a private mission from the French government in Switzerland, had important engagements which compelled him to return. His presence, indeed, occasioned some little embarrassment to part of the society; the emigrants discovered him to be a Frenchman, but knew not in what class of emigrants he deserved to

to be ranked, while, every time he took a pinch of snuff, he was careful to slide hastily into his pocket the lid of his box, on which was painted the emblems of liberty, and the rights of man. French politics here, as below in the world, were the principal topics of conversation. The emigrants were loud in their invectives; but the Abbot observed that things were returning to order, and seemed more disposed to soothe the minds, and heal by gentle counsels and acts of beneficence the rankling wounds of his guests, than to animate them, like some of his brethren in Switzerland, to acts of desperation and revenge.

I have dwelt so long on this mountain of angels, that it is high time to descend to the world. As it was found impossible for my fellow travellers to
pro-

prolong their visit, the Abbot insisted that as my engagements were not so pressing, I should be left in hostage for their return. He promised me books, torrents, piny forests, snows, and Glaciers in profusion, expeditions even towards Tetlis, which raised its snowy head above the valley in the class of the loftiest mountains; and the society of the two French nuns, who appeared interesting and amiable.

I found it, indeed, a difficult task to struggle against my own wishes, and this kind and urgent invitation; but compounded at length with both, by consenting to return to the celebration of the Abbot's festival, at some weeks distance, and stay as long as he would keep me.

This

This engagement I was unable to fulfil; but if I ever return to Switzerland, it is not the danger of doubling the promontory on the Lake of Lucerne, which never having passed without a storm, I have called the promontory of tempests, or the fatigues of the mountain-journey, that shall prevent me from climbing up to Engelberg, and paying my respects to its venerable Abbot.

CHAP. XXX.

*Tell's Chapel.—Lake of Zug.—Zug.—Battle of Cappel.—
Government of Lucerne.—Literary Societies.*

WE had now visited every part of the Lake of the four Cantons, except the Bay which leads to Zug. On our return from Engelberg, we embarked to take a cursory view of this little Canton, passing in our voyage the monument erected by Raynal to the memory of William Tell, and the ruins of the Castle of Hapsburg, from the Counts of which name the Imperial House of Austria takes its descent. On the neck of land that divides the lake of Lucerne from that of Zug, is erected a chapel on the spot where Tell pierced with his arrow the Bailiff Geisler. To those who think that all means against tyrants are lawful, this spot will appear the most sanctified place in Switzerland; and

and if affassination can be justified in any case, this has perhaps the greatest claims to pardon ; but the dexterous aim of the archer is probably not the most laudable, though esteemed one of the most brilliant actions of William Tell.

The lake of Zug, around which “ green hills lift their dewy heads,” would appear grand and picturesque to an imagination not filled with the images of the lofty wooded steeps, and dark-browed rocks that bound the waters of Lucerne. The town of Zug, placed near the end of the lake, and at the foot of a mountain covered with vines and fruit-trees, has sufficient beauty of situation to charm the lover of nature ; and its size, proportioned to that of the Canton, is sufficiently large for the enjoyments of society.

The

The government of the Canton is democratic, like that of the other small Cantons, with the same advantages, and vices. Near the lake is the field where was fought the battle of Cappel, between the Reformers and the Catholics, in which the latter triumphed, and where the great enemy of the religion of their fathers, Zuinglius, fell, fighting for the cause of the Reformation, for which he had so zealously contended.

The government of the Canton of Lucerne, the chief of the Catholic Cantons, is purely oligarchical. There is indeed a Council of one hundred, in whom the sovereignty is nominally invested; but the only efficient body is the senate, consisting of thirty-six members, comprehended in that Council; to whom belongs almost exclusively the exercise of the power and authority of the State. As

this body is hereditary, the privilege of governing descends lineally from father to son; and no doubt whatever is admitted with respect to the clearness of the title. No one is rash enough to dispute the prerogatives of this privileged class; and the present generation, and the next that succeeds it, are consecrated, and inviolable in the eyes of every candidate for the rights of citizenship; who, if by the payment of enormous sums, he happily attains that honour for himself, must leave the benefits to his posterity yet unborn; since it is only to the third generation of a citizen newly elected, that the law grants the right of being eligible to any offices, civil or ecclesiastical, of the State. Few individuals aspire to the purchase of these distant and uncertain advantages. He who plants a tree may live to gather the fruit; but the novice citizen of Lucerne knows that
his

his honours will never blossom for himself, and that probably they will never even expand for his posterity.

The Senate being the principal machine in the State, the Grand Council is lightened of most of the cares of government, by its constant labours. In all affairs, foreign and domestic, it is the province of the Senate to decide; and the wisdom of the Council is required, or dispensed with, according to the will of the former. There is only one hall for the Assembly of both bodies; and formerly, when the Senate prolonged its meetings beyond the usual hour, the great Council waited at the door till they were admitted. This inadvertence, it seems, has lately been corrected; but that the distinction between senators and simple counsellors may not be entirely lost, the latter, when they speak, stand

reverentially on their legs, while the oracles of the senators are delivered, like those of old, in a sitting posture.

By a happy confusion of powers, the judicial authority is entrusted to the same body who form and execute the laws. As the Senate is in lawful possession, by virtue of its office, of the titles of every process that is brought before its tribunal, if the affair is important, sufficient time is allowed to this distinguished body, to form its opinion; and as the chief is the individual to whom the papers are sent, if he or his friends are more immediately interested in the decision, the same precaution is taken for the due preparation of their opinions, before the affair is even laid before the Senate. It is unnecessary to observe by what means, under such a system, a favourable, or unfavourable decision may be obtained. An appeal
may

may indeed be made to the great Council; but the faith of the appellant in the justice of his cause must be strong indeed, if he expects redress, when the Senate against whom his appeal is made, assist in the revision of the case, and usually form the majority of the Assembly.

While the senators of Lucerne take this tender care of the property of their subjects, they do not neglect to pay a due attention to their own. In most other countries, the client has permission to name the counsel who is to plead his cause before the tribunals; but here, the paternal protection of the Senate steps in to the aid of the citizens, and prevents all ordinary extortions of law, by admitting no other counsellors than the senators themselves. At first sight, the office of Judge and Advocate may seem

incongruous; but who ought to be better informed of the real state of a case than he by whom it is to be decided? Vulgar minds have also suggested the danger of some bias in the heart of the Judge in favour of his client, on account of the fees accompanying the brief, which he has previously accepted, as Advocate; but who will believe that the noble senators of Lucerne, actuated by the fordid motives of common souls, are capable of forgetting the higher considerations of justice.

No less regard is paid to the lives of their subjects by these conscript fathers, than is shewn to their property. The Gothic institutions of the Habeas Corpus Act, and grand, or petty juries, are here unknown. The prisoner is interrogated, in criminal cases, by a member of the Senate, by whom the examination

is laid before the Assembly, who decide in ordinary causes; but if it is a case of some importance, an appeal may be made to the grand Council. Before the Council pass sentence, it is necessary that the assent of the prisoner to the truth of the deposition against him should be taken; for which purpose, the Judge or President, together with a small number of the Council, repair to the prison, to read the charges. If the prisoner acknowledges the truth of the deposition, the affair is soon decided; but if he denies the facts, or hesitates to sign his condemnation, the instruments of torture are prepared!

In justification of this practice, it is alledged that mercy and humanity require that death, of all dreadful evils the most dreadful, should not be inflicted till the last evidence of crime is obtained,

which is the confession of the criminal himself. Whether death in any case should be inflicted, has long been a question of criminal jurisprudence. France has decreed its abolition at the peace; and in many despotic countries this punishment has become much less frequent; but the impolicy of the barbarous use of torture to extort confession, has been so admirably exposed by the irresistible arguments of the illustrious Beccaria, who, with the accuracy of an anatomist, has calculated the comparative strength of the trembling nerve of innocence, and the hardened fibre of guilt, that this practice has been thrown aside by almost every nation of Europe, but Switzerland!—Is such a country the Temple of Liberty? and are such sacrifices offered on her altars?

There

There is no inconsiderable number of enlightened men in every Canton of Switzerland, who are anxious to see the abuses of their government reformed, by restoring to the community those privileges which are now the property of a few individuals; who are desirous that their country should deserve the character it has long usurped, of being the most free in Europe, and who wish to hail the return of those days when literature decorated the foil which valour had won.

“Lucerne,” Mr. Cox observes, “is of all places in Switzerland, that in which literature is the least encouraged and cultivated.” This observation seems to be confirmed by the circumstance that this town contains not one bookseller’s shop; and yet at Lucerne I found a select society

ciety of men of letters devoting their time to those researches which were most likely to prove beneficial to their country, and who, united to each other by the tie of sympathetic taste, usually passed their evenings together, in the soothing enjoyments of elegant and enlightened conversation. While those titles of which the noble senators of Lucerne are so tenacious, have scarcely been ever heard beyond the walls of their city, the names of Balthasar, and Meyer, are known to every literary circle of Paris.

Although the liberty of the press, the palladium of all other liberty, is universally proscribed in Switzerland, neither the force of authority, nor the imprimatur of a censor, have been able to impede the gradual progress of that knowledge which

which will lead to freedom unfullied by anarchy or violence, and restore to this country its antient renown.

Trade, we are told, is under an interdict at Lucerne; and the priests are in possession of nearly half the riches of the Canton. It is probably a bad thing to proscribe commerce; and yet, its wealth has communicated no superior charm to Basil; it must also be admitted that it is unnecessary to leave half the riches of a populous Canton in the possession of those who add nothing to its force or industry, but, on the contrary, are the chief instruments of enchain-
ing both.

The inhabitants of Lucerne have an air of more chearful gaiety than we had elsewhere observed. The features of the women had here lost the flat German
phy-

physiognomy, and assumed the soft contour of the Madona countenance. The ladies of Lucerne are remarked for their beauty, and give an higher interest to their personal charms, by cultivating the graces of the mind.

CHAP. XXXI.

Cabinets of Natural History in Switzerland.—Plan of M. Meyer.—State of fine Arts at Paris.

AMONG the curiosities of Switzerland, that merit the attention of travellers, the cabinets of Natural History hold, in the opinion of the natives, a distinguished rank. The history of these cabinets, which belong to individuals, and are scattered in different Cantons, has been accurately detailed by one of the Bernoullis, in four octavo volumes; a considerable and valuable museum might be formed of these collections, if they were brought together for the service of the public.

One of the most pleasing monuments of topographical industry, is the plan in relief of Switzerland, belonging to M.

Meyer, of Arau ; where we re-traced with pleasure our journies amidst that world of Glaciers on some of which no mortal foot has trod. This plan is much more extensive than that of General Pffyster, which embraces only the Cantons around the Lake of Lucerne, while that of M. Meyer extends, or rather is intended when finished to extend, to all Switzerland. But what claims the unwearied meditation of the traveller in Switzerland, is not the productions or improvements of art, but the stupendous book of nature. The region where the arts may be studied with the greatest advantage is Paris.

The most splendid trophies of the victories obtained by the arms of the French Republic in Italy, are the magnificent monuments of the arts, many of which have been transported, or now are on
their

their way, to Paris. Without pretending to decide on the policy or the right of the transfer, a question which has been amply discussed, it must be admitted that Paris, enriched by these master-pieces of genius, may now lay claim to a more honourable distinction than its former boast of being the region of pleasure, the emporium of elegance, and the arbiter of fashion. Paris, arrayed in the spoils of conquest, is now become the centre of human attainments. Whatever is rare or curious in the productions of nature, magnificent in those of taste, inventive in science, or precious in literature, is to be found in Paris; and what merits the highest eulogium is the extreme facility of admission, or rather the invitation which is given to enter these receptacles of knowledge. Instead of the forbidding inscription written over the Athenian porch, "Let no unlearned person enter here,"

here," the reading at Paris is, "Enter all, both learned and unlearned. The wise may add to their stores of knowledge, and the ignorant may become wise."

Although the complete organization of the establishment of public instruction throughout the capital has not yet taken place, the foundation is securely laid; and surely the benevolent mind of every country will exult in the idea of so many fellow creatures rescued from vice and slavery; for such are the necessary effects of ignorance; since if knowledge, as Bacon observed, be power, it is also virtue, freedom, and happiness.

The dissemination of instruction is general throughout France. Every capital of the hundred and twenty departments of the Republic has its Museum, Cabinet
of

of Natural History, Botanic Garden, and Philosophical Apparatus, and every District or Canton its Public Library; but at Paris these means of knowledge are found in such magnificent profusion, that the only hesitation of the inquirer is, amidst the splendid variety, what part of science he shall chuse.

Public Libraries are open in various parts of Paris on particular days; but the great National Library is at all times at the disposition of the public. In that region of books, immensely enriched by manuscripts from Italy, a multitude of persons of both sexes range themselves in silence, at a long suite of tables, on which implements of writing are placed, and where they are attended by the officers of the library, who are bound to furnish them with the books they demand. The student of science may re-
pair

pair to the National Garden of Plants, where several hundred persons attend Lectures on Chemistry, Natural History, or Botany, amidst the finest specimens of whatever is curious in either the animal, vegetable, or mineral world. The collection of living animals is not yet very extensive; it would have been considerably augmented by that of the Stadtholder, had not a French Commissary converted his menagerie into a farm-yard, where Indian curlews, pheasants of Java, ostriches, and birds of the Tropic, after being plucked of their fine feathers, shared the fate of common poultry, and were trussed, spitted, and devoured. Happy for the camels and elephants that they were at that time out of the reach of the commissary's cook!

Not long since, the fine Cabinet of Natural History contained a curious specimen,

cimen, which was the skeleton of the great Turenne, stuck up between the classes of monkeys and alligators. At that sacrilegious period when the tombs of the illustrious dead were ravaged by those cannibals, who, fatally for the cause of Liberty and Science, preyed so long on the illustrious living, some Frenchmen, penetrated with the generous feeling of national pride, snatched from these savages the bones of this renowned General, and placed them among these uncouth animals, as the surest and least suspected asylum at that epoch of hostility to man.

The most splendid monument that Paris contains, is the gallery of paintings called the National Museum. This gallery is formed by the whole length of the Louvre, which is about the third of a mile. The exhibition was perhaps un-

equalled when first opened to the public, and when it consisted only of the reunion of the masters which were scattered through France; but since the conquest of the Flemish and Italian Schools, it may be said to contain almost the whole of what is great or celebrated in the History of the Arts.

The description of the far-famed pieces which it now exhibits, already fills the volumes of travellers, who have thought the view of these precious relicks well worth a pilgrimage to the separate shrines where they were placed; but henceforth that class of travellers whom Sterne describes as sailing and posting through the politer kingdoms of the globe, in order to see sights and look into discoveries, will have an easier task to perform: they need only journey as far as this vast Museum, and run along the double rows of its

its gallery, hung thick with Raphaels, Michael Angelos, Carraccis, Titians, Corregios, Guidos, Rubens, Claude Lorraines, and Rosas. Those who are ambitious of passing for connoisseurs, may here learn, with little trouble, all the terms of cognoscenti, and like the director of taste in the Vicar of Wakefield, never want reasons for praising the works of Pietro Perugino.

The real lover of the arts will find ample gratification in contemplating these sublime monuments of genius, this rich assemblage of its collected powers! And if the luxury of such sensations is disturbed by the ignorant comments of the vulgar, he may, by an application seldom refused, share the privileged hours of the student, and indulge his feelings in the calm of silent meditation.

The middle part of this extensive gallery is at present occupied by pieces of Sculpture. For those, as well as the monuments now in their way from Italy (among which is the Apollo Belvidere) the Ground Gallery of the Louvre, which lies under that of painting, is in forward preparation. This Gallery of Sculpture will not be less brilliant than its sister Gallery above. The French School has been long celebrated for the chisel; and the monuments of its labours are heaped in great profusion in various repositories of Paris. These pieces are now to be collected together in this part of the Museum, of which the Italian busts and statues will form a splendid ornament.

While these delicate and more estimable monuments are carefully protected from the injuries of the seasons, the Government has decorated the Public Gardens with

with numerous fine copies of the most celebrated antiques, and the Tuilleries are become a walk no less agreeable to the amateurs, than to the fashionable world; and a further plan of embellishment is proposed, by forming a covered Winter Garden in the Orange-walk, decorated with hot-house plants, and diffusing the temperature of Spring. A regenerated statue of Liberty will be erected on the Place of Concord, formerly Place de Louis XV. and a column of Victory three hundred feet in height, crowned by a colossal statue of Fame, will be placed at the end of the Vista leading from the Tuilleries.

Various institutions are formed for the progress of knowledge in France, among which the Polytechnical School claims a distinguished place. Of these institutions, and of all that concerns the sciences, the

members of the National Institute are the guardians. Unlike most of the learned societies of Europe, which confine themselves almost exclusively to one branch of science, the Institute is divided into classes, which comprehend every department of human knowledge. The pestilential reign of terrorism has swept away many who would have been among its most illustrious ornaments; but the number left is not inconsiderable of those who would do honour to any age or country. A certain portion of the revenue of the State is appropriated to the service of the Institute, whose members receive a recompense for their labours, which is neither adequate to their dignity, nor that of the Republic. This narrow stipend will no doubt be augmented at the peace; and the Republic will pay more liberally the debt she owes to Literature, the parent of her existence. The Government
has

has indeed observed the most respectful attention towards this learned body from its first institution; and this homage, rendered to Science by Power, is among the most pleasing features of its administration.

We had contemplated the summer months to journeying amidst the savage alpine scenery of Switzerland, leaving to the months of Autumn the view of the milder landscapes of that enchanting country, where nature, when the celes- to overwhelm the imagination with her greatness, assumes the softest smile of lavish beauty. We had yet seen but an inconsiderable part of the Canton of Berne, and none of the delicious countries washed by the lake of Geneva, and which are ef- fected by travellers the garden of Eu- rope.

CHAP. XXXII.

*Autumnal Views on the Jura.—Soleure.—View of
the Chain of Alps.—Bienne.—Neufchatel.*

WE had consecrated the summer months to journeying amidst the savage alpine scenery of Switzerland, leaving to the months of Autumn the view of the milder landscapes of that enchanting country, where nature, when she ceases to overwhelm the imagination with her greatness, assumes the softest smile of lavish beauty. We had yet seen but an inconsiderable part of the Canton of Berne, and none of the delicious countries washed by the lake of Geneva, and which are esteemed by travellers the garden of Europe.

The

The year had now

“ Fallen into the fear, the yellow leaf ;”

SHAKESPEARE.

and after spending two or three weeks at Basil on our return from Lucerne, we once more crossed the mountains of Jura. The last time we ascended those romantic steeps, they were dressed in all the rich gradations of colouring which belong to Autumn. The deep brown and pale yellow which overspread in their various tints the foliage of the wooded cliffs, contrasted with the fresh ever-green of the groves of pine and fir, and the bright verdure which still covered the pastoral lawns.— The rills seemed to flow in clearer currents; there was a sort of spirit in the air, and the whole scenery mingling gay and luxuriant graces, with fading forms, excited that soft and soothing melancholy which, to some minds, is so much dearer

dearer than all that the world calls pleasure.

The town of Soleure, situated on the Aar, in a beautiful and fertile country, contains several fine edifices, of which the new built church in the principal street, ornamented with two superb fountains in front, is the most distinguished. The town is fortified, and appears sufficiently strong to keep out an army of revolted peasantry, the only purpose to which fortifications in Switzerland have for two or three centuries past been applied.

At the gate we were compelled to undergo a long ceremonial of examination, and were referred from one committee of guards to another, before we were suffered to enter, though our passports were in perfect order, and bore no mis-

mischievous traces of intelligence with France. We had been previously told, that persons coming from that country, except such as came without passports, had in this town been subjected to insult, and even danger; nor were we surprized at this intelligence, having heard from M. Barthelemy himself the mode of his expulsion from the accustomed residence of the French ambassadors at Soleure.

The government of this Canton is an oligarchy, like that of Lucerne, composed of a council of one hundred and one, including the thirty-five members of the senate who form the executive power. There is something liberal in the exercise of privilege in this Canton compared with that of Lucerne; here the places of honour or profit are distributed amongst thirty families, while
at

at Lucerne the influence and principal offices of the State are confined to ten or twelve.

Although Soleure had relaxed something of the severity of its features towards France since the retreat of the coalesced armies across the Rhine, and the arrival of the Prussian envoy at Basil to treat of peace, there was yet no such demonstration of the return of the old cordiality as could make even a slight residence agreeable to those who were friends to the cause of liberty; and remaining but a sufficient time to view the city, and its charming environs, we continued our journey to Bienne.

On the road to Bienne, which lies along the foot of the Jura, we beheld one of the grandest views which Switzerland

zerland had yet presented to our admiration. In most of its Cantons some snowy mountain forms the back ground of the picture; but here we saw displayed in all their majesty the whole chain of Alps from St. Gothard to the Lake of Geneva; forming one vast world of Glaciers, behind whose towering peaks Mount Blanc reared its august and sublimest head. Although but at the distance of fifty or sixty miles, we were so placed that the eye could take in at one view this mighty range of mountain. The sun lighted up the hills by which we were separated from the chain of Alps long after its setting orb had sunk behind Mount Jura from our view; but the shadowy gradations of twilight had fallen both on hill and valley, when the most vivid hue of the rose from every Alpine peak reflected the solar beams, and flushed the wide hemisphere

misphere with one bright tint of splendour.

Bienne is a neat small town, situated near the Lake which bears its name, celebrated in modern story as having been the retreat of Rousseau, who lived for some time on the island of St. Pierre, and was compelled at length to seek refuge in Paris from the persecution of the Republics of Switzerland. The French Government, in right of the possession of the Bishoprick of Basil, now the department of Mount Terrible, is Sovereign of the State of Bienne; but as objects of more importance at that time occupied its attention; the great and little councils to whom the administration of State affairs belongs of right, took care also, during the inter-regnum, of the Sovereignty. The Mayor of the town is the representative of this Sovereign, whose

power is merely nominal, and whose revenues are scarcely more than sufficient to pay the salary of his treasurer. The legislative power of the State is entrusted to the great council, the little council wield the sceptre; and, as in case of vacancies, these two bodies name the succeeding members, the government is purely aristocratical.

It was our good fortune to alight at an inn of which the master, Mr. Wizard, is great counsellor and treasurer of the State. The company at Mr. Wizard's table, which was well furnished, consisted of Senators of Bienne, and French emigrants. Mr. Wizard was deeply skilled in the political affairs of Europe; and insinuated, that had his advice been followed, matters would have been differently arranged between the Swiss Cantons

tons and France. "I have observed," said this senator, "with great concern, the part which our allies have taken in this dispute, and have highly disapproved of the conduct of our neighbours the Canton of Berne. We," added he, "have evinced very different dispositions; when every power in Europe was coalesced against the French Republic, the town of Bienne took her by the hand; and surely those who struggle for liberty ought not to fail for want of assistance." As Mr. Wizard proclaimed these opinions before emigrants and English, there could be no hypocrisy in his sentiments; nor can there be any impropriety in this testimony to his zeal.

No doubt, had his advice in favour of the French Republic been followed, he would have given his vote with
alacrity

alacrity for the augmentation of her military force by the contingent of Bi-
enne, which, I believe, amounts to four-
teen men.

The journals of travellers in Switzer-
land are filled with complaints of heavy
impositions at the inns, nor do they mur-
mur without cause; but the sentiments
of Mr. Wizard are, no doubt, elevated in
proportion to his rank; he scorns to im-
pose upon the traveller, and his house is
one of the cheapest as well as the best
in all Switzerland. In making this decla-
ration, I only add my feeble testimony
to that of a distinguished croud, whose
names were contained in two enormous
packets which he produced in order to
shew me how many of my countrymen
had been his guests. Each person at his
departure had left a little certificate,

stating that he who signed it was perfectly satisfied with Mr. Wizard.

Old and young, patricians and plebeians, lords and commons, were all satisfied with Mr. Wizard; this was the burden of the song from persons of all countries and conditions; I never remember to have met with so many uniform opinions on the same subject. We had examined a multitude of these testimonies, when Mr. Wizard, passing hastily over Counts, Dukes, and Princes, snatched up eagerly a scrap of paper which he exclaimed was a certificate that he would not lose for twenty louis. From the glow on the countenance of Mr. Wizard, and the energy with which he spoke, I guessed that it was at least the tribute of an Emperor. "There," added he, throwing it with a look of triumph on the table, "there is the name of
the

the first man in Europe." We looked to discover who was thus elevated in our host's opinion, and read, with that sort of personal pride which we feel in those powers of genius that give distinction to our own country, the signature of Charles Fox.

From the sovereignty of the French Republic, we passed in a few hours through a charming country, into that of the King of Prussia; the respective subjects of these two Powers were living in good harmony with each other in Switzerland, while their fellow-subjects on the Rhine were employed in mutual slaughter.

Neufchatel is pleasantly situated on an ample lake, of which the waters, agitated by a storm, were flushed with deep tints of green and purple. This town

forms part of the dominions of the Prussian monarch, but from the privileges which it possesses, is exempted from engaging in any projects hostile to its own opinions or interest. The government of the town and district is a confusion of powers not well defined; but it would appear from the industry and opulence of the inhabitants, compared with many other parts of Switzerland, together with the works that issued from the presses of Neufchatel during the French monarchy, that Prussian despotism did not weigh on them with too heavy an hand. Since the celebrated controversy, which arose between Petit-pierre and his brethren the clergy of Neufchatel, respecting the eternity of hell torments, in which opinion the former was supported by Frederick the Great, no contest respecting prerogative or privilege has taken place.—The King, Petit-pierre, and Marshal Keith, with

with their doctrine of final salvation, were, after long discussion, obliged to quit the field; the clergy maintained their privileges, and the King declared that “puisque'ils avoient si fort à cœur d'être damnés éternellement,” he should no longer oppose their determination.

CHAP. XXXIII.

*Excursions round Neufchatel.—Morat.—Ossuary.—
Avenches.—Moudon.—Pays de Vaud.—View of the
Lake and Mountains.—Lausanne.—Geneva.*

AFTER making various excursions round Neufchatel, to the villages of Locle, Chaux, de Fond, and as far as Yverdun, we returned by the lake to Morat, immortalized for the victory gained by the Swiss over the Burgundians and Charles the Bald, whose bones are preserved, according to the quaint inscription on the Ossuary, by the road-side, as a monument of themselves left by the invaders.

According to the historians of these times, this victory, though it secured the liberties of the Swiss, was fatally counter-balanced by the loss of that simplicity and honourable mediocrity which had hitherto

hitherto preserved their independence.— Philip de Commines details the story with his accustomed naiveté, and without suspecting the consequences*.

* “ Si Dieu, dit l'historien, n'eust delaisné le dit Duc, il n'est pas apparent qu'il se fut mis en peine, pour si peu de chose, veu les offres qui lui avoient été faits, et contre quelles gens il avoit a faire, où il n'y pouvoit avoir nul acquest, ni nulle gloire. Car pour lors les Suisses n'étoient point estimés comme ils sont pour cette heure, et n'étoit rien plus pauvre; et si oui dire à un chevalier des leurs, qui avoient été des premiers ambassadeurs qu'ils avoient envoyés devers le dit Duc, qu'ils avoient dit en faisant leurs remonstrances pour le demeuvroir de cette guerre, que entreux ne pouvoit rien gagner, car leur pays étoit très stérile, et pauvre, et qu'ils n'avoit nuls bons prisonniers, et qu'il ne croyoit pas que les esperons et mords des chevaux de son ost ne vauissent plus d'argent que tous ceux de leur territoire ne pourroient payer de finance si'ils estoient pris—Mais les depouilles de son ost enricherent fort ces pauvres gens de Suisse qui de prime face, ne connurent les biens qu'ils eurent en leur mains, et par especiel les plus ignorants.”

PHILIP DE COMMINES, Lib. v. Ch. i.

At Avenches, the classic ground of Switzerland, we went to see the tessellated pavement, which was shewn to us by a peasant, who has the charge of this relic of antiquity, or rather of the tobacco-leaves which overspread it; for there they remain, in spite of the just remonstrances of Mr. Cox. Every passing stranger may take up as many fragments as suits his humour of this curious pavement, which, in a country of taste, would be preserved with religious care. We also visited the remains of the Amphitheatre in the Bailiff's Garden, the marble pillar, and other monuments which denote the former grandeur of the Capital of antient Helvetia. Similar monuments have been discovered in the neighbourhood of the lake of Neufchatel, particularly at Cheyres.

From Avenches, we proceeded to Moudon, which was the antient capital
of

of the Pays de Vaud, before it fell under the dominion of the Canton of Berne.— At present it only serves to yield a revenue to some Sovereign Burgher of Berne, who, under the name of Bailiff, lives in a fine chateau, which, perched on a rock, raises its spiral towers at Larchens, about a league from Moudon, and which once belonged to the dignitaries of the Pays de Vaud. Wherever we met with palaces or castles in this country, it was unnecessary to inquire to whom they belonged, since the inhabitant never failed to be a Bailiff of the sovereign Canton of Berne.

We passed some days in the Pays de Vaud, which, rich in charming pastoral scenery, sloping lawns, embowering groves, and lovely cultivated hills, crowned with the bare peak of a wooded cliff, half-veiled by clustering foliage, reminded me
of

of the most beautiful parts of England. The Pays de Vaud is not only enchanting, in its soft perspectives, to the lover of nature, but fertile in every production for the support or enjoyment of life.— In such a country, Despotism itself could scarcely weigh heavy enough with its iron hand, to crush the inhabitant beneath oppression. The fruitfulness of the soil keeps pace with the exactions of avarice; and the subject peasant, though robbed of his rights, finds some compensation in the bounty of nature. We left these Arcadian Vales, and ascended the chain of hills that encircle the Lake of Geneva; where, in strong contrast to the mild picture of the Pays de Vaud, we gazed once more on rocks and mountains, rudely hanging over the opposite banks of the lake, and whose tops were whitened by new-fallen snow. In the back ground rose the Alps, covered with their unvaried

ried shroud. As we descended the hills, we beheld the spacious Lake stretching its ample waters along the base of this ridge of mountains, far as the eye could reach; and our path to Laufanne, leading along vine-covered hills, and displaying at one view the luxuriant charms of beauty, and the awful wildness of terrific grandeur, furnished all those combinations of imagery which crowd the dreams of the poet.

Probably no town of Europe is better situated than Laufanne to delight the traveller by its picturesque views, or more inconveniently placed for a constant residence. This town is, for the most part, either abyss or mountain; the streets communicate with each other by long flights of steps, down which you descend into what was formerly a ravin, in order to ascend, on the other side, what must
once

once have been a precipice. Since many other spots might have been chosen for a city, either nearer the lake for the sake of commerce, or higher up for defence, it seems strange that the foundation should have been laid in a place above all others the least situated for habitual accommodation. We found Laufanne filled with emigrants from France, and also from Geneva, the Jacobins of that Republic having, at the close of the reign of Robespierre, perpetrated some of those atrocious acts which had so long desolated France.

The Republic of Geneva, by a general insurrection in the beginning of 1789, had thrown off the chains which a despotic magistracy, seven years before, aided by the combined armies of France, Berne, and Sardinia, had imposed on their fellow citizens. Although, in this instance, she

she spoke the prologue to the drama of the French Revolution, which happened some months after, she has since never failed to play the after-piece to all its eventful transitions.

Of five classes of inhabitants belonging to Geneva, two only, those of Citizens and Burghers, composed the Sovereign Assembly, improperly called, "General Council."—The classes of natives, inhabitants, and house-keepers, enjoyed no political rights; these were the prerogatives only of the two former. It may be easily conceived that those three unpri-
vileged classes could not behold with indifference the establishment and consolidation of the French Revolution.—
They viewed its progress at first with secret exultation, as a sure presage of their own; and a society at length was formed of the partizans of the new
system,

system, under the name of the Circle of Equality, the views of this society were altogether directed towards the establishment of the just principles of liberty, in despite of the opposition of the citizens, in whom the exclusive sovereignty was vested, and also of such of the unprivileged classes as were attached to the existing government from different circumstances, or who had nothing to gain by a change. The demands of these advocates for Equal Rights had hitherto been only whispered; but when the invasion of Savoy had taken place, at the close of the first campaign, in 1792, the neighbourhood of the Republican army to Geneva, emboldened these patriots to make remonstrances which had the air of authority, if not of menace. The great and little councils, finding that a refusal or even delay under such circumstances would be attended with considerable

siderable danger, appeared to be convinced by the arguments of the petitioners, and passed a decree in favour of Equal Rights, with certain slight restrictions; and in order to give this decree the sanction of the constitutional form, they framed a sketch of a law which was to be submitted to the General Council.—

This preamble gave great offence to the friends of Equality, who were unwilling to receive as a gift what they felt was their right. The two parties immediately became exasperated against each other.—

The Genevois who dreaded a Revolution, being more numerous than those who wished it, solicited the commander of the military force to beat to arms, and ring the alarm-bell, in order to awe their adversaries into silence. The Syndic of the Guard, Mr. Micheli Ducrest, to avoid the effusion of blood, refused to comply with this requisition; he not
only

only invited the partizans of the government, who were on guard at their posts in the city, to retire to their homes, but put into the hands of the leaders of the friends to Equal Rights the keys of the Park of Artillery. They were not tardy in taking advantage of this important acquisition. On the 1st of December they made themselves masters of the place, the Red Cap was hoisted, Trees of Liberty were planted in different quarters of the town, on the 5th the Revolution was completed, and the triumphant party named forty select men, in order to organize the new system. On the 12th of December, the Anniversary of the Escaladi of 1602, Political Equality was proclaimed in the General Council; and, the 28th of the same month, the dismissal of the great and little councils, promulgated in the name of the Deputies of the Nation, made way for two provisional

visional committees, with the names of Committees of Safety, and Administration; which election was confirmed, the last day of the year, by a sovereign assembly, composed of both the old and newly-admitted citizens.

The Revolution being effected, the Genevois were anxious to confirm it by a constitution purely democratic. A National Assembly, composed of one hundred and twenty members, chosen among the citizens of both parties, opened the session the 25th of February, 1793. At the close of the year, the plan of the constitution was printed, and submitted to the consideration of the people, and, on the 5th of February, 1794, was accepted by the citizens assembled in sovereign council. This constitutional edict, founded on the great principles of liberty, consecrated the rights of man, the di-

vision of power, and the responsibility of office, and though defective in many respects, and formed rather for a wealthy, extensive state, than a small and circumscribed republic, was gladly received by the great mass of the people. The Genevois were anxious for the establishment of a government which should protect their persons and properties, an advantage of which both parties had not had an equal enjoyment under the *Provisionary Regime*, where many acts of pillage, cruelty, and even murder had remained unpunished through the weakness or connivance of those in power. The new authorities who entered on office the 13th of April, were acknowledged by the governments of Berne and Zurich, who had refused to correspond with the provisional committees; the magistrates were respected, the prejudices and hatred of the different parties appeared

peared to be extinct, and order and harmony completely restored, when this happy state of calm and tranquillity was disturbed by the insurrection of the 19th of July, and the scenes to which it gave birth.

The preceding evening, in a numerous sitting of the general Club of the Revolutionists, some of the leaders of the party announced a conspiracy formed against the Patriots, by the *Aristocrates*, and the *Englués* *. On hearing this denunciation, the most furious of the party moved for an immediate call to arms, in order to crush the conspiracy, and punish the traitors, while those who were more moderate, contended that the meeting of the sovereign council, which was to as-

* The name given to those persons who had taken no part in the Revolution.

semble the next day to decide on imposing some urgent taxes, ought not to be disturbed by such a sudden, and probably ill-founded alarm. While the President was putting the question, about thirty of the most vehement members ran furiously out of the hall, calling to arms, which gave an impulse to others, and the whole tumultuously put themselves in insurrection.

Before day-break, revolutionary patrols had filled the streets, made domiciliary visits, and arrested those of the *Aristocrates*, and the *Englués*, who were the most suspected. During the morning, the insurgents made a proclamation, enjoining every revolutionist to arm for the safety of the country and his own; the meeting of the sovereign council was deferred, the seals were put on the effects and papers of many citizens, who were im-

imprisoned or absent, various depredations were committed in the houses of individuals, both in the town and country; and all those who had taken no part in the Revolution were disarmed.

The revolutionary clubs, who corresponded at that time with the Jacobin Society in France, and who had caught the contagion of their spirit, named a military commission, composed of seven members, to organize the insurrection, leaving every civil concern under the direction of the constitutional laws, and the legal authorities. The gates of the city were instantly shut, divine worship was suspended, and many of its ministers, respectable for their age and services, were dragged to houses of confinement, where more than five hundred of their fellow citizens were heaped together during the most feverish heat of summer.

On the demand of the military committee, the insurrectionary clubs formed a revolutionary tribunal composed of twenty-one members to try the prisoners; but the sentence of death could not be put into execution till confirmed by the majority of the revolutionists. The tribunal sat publicly in one of the halls of the Hotel de Ville, and brought first to the bar those of the prisoners who were enregistered under the denomination of the chief criminals, seven of whom were condemned to die. In conformity to this decree, the revolutionists assembled in arms in one of the public walks of the city called the National Lyceum, to sanction, or annul in whole, or in part, the sentence of the tribunal. The leaders expelled from this assembly every person who was not known for a decided revolutionist, and, after this epuration, gave their votes by

white

white and black balls, the former of which denoted an acquittal, and the latter death. Three of those who were condemned by the tribunal were saved by this operation; but as they were members of patrician families, and had held the first places in the State, several of the revolutionists, heated by wine which had been plentifully lavished on the occasion, exclaimed in a rage, that there was a plot to save the aristocrats who ought all to perish. Whilst others more moderate were endeavouring to silence, or persuade them, that they ought to yield to the decision of the majority, a group of the most savage amongst them withdrew from the ranks, and ran to the prisons to seize the seven victims, whom they brought *au pas de charge* into the fatal circle. The moderate party were, by this time, considerably diminished; a square battalion

was formed; the tribunal placed in the centre pronounced sentence of death on all the seven, who were immediately shot*.

Some days after, two respectable magistrates, a financier, and a reputable tradesman, underwent the same punishment†; but the people were not consulted on this occasion, because at the requisition of the revolutionary judges, the clubs had decided that no further

* The four citizens condemned by the tribunal were *Decombres*, lieutenant colonel of the regiment of Geneva, *Murrier*, *Chenau*, and *Viviers Decor*, watch-makers:—those acquitted by the people were *Cayla*, Ex-Syndic, *Prevost Cabanis*, procureur generale, *Derochment*, counsellor.

† The citizens who were condemned by the tribunal were *Fatio*, Ex-Syndic, *Naville*, Ex-procureur, *Andead*, a banker, and *De Lorme*, a watch-maker.

appeal should be made to the nation to confirm any sentence ; but that two-thirds of the votes of the tribunal should be sufficient for sentence of death. On the 11th of August this fatal tribunal ended its sittings, after having condemned thirty-seven persons to death, of which twenty-six were absent ; an hundred to banishment ; about three hundred to imprisonment ; some for life ; others for different terms, and the remainder were discharged with a few revolutionary admonitions.

One of the causes of the insurrection had been the want of money : the reign of terror came in aid of the exhausted finances, and the indigent jacobins. When the clubs named the members of the tribunal, they chose also a revolutionary commission which declared

clared null and void every Notorial Act passed since the 18th July; sequestered the goods of those who were imprisoned, or who being absent were found guilty; forbade the export of coin, goods, or plate; decreed that all silver furniture should be carried to the Mint; that every person should declare the state of his fortune; that heavy contributions should be levied on the aristocrats; others less exorbitant on the *Engloutés*, and some still more moderate on the rich Patriots. The produce of these taxes and seizures were employed for the most part to salary the revolutionists who had supported the insurrection, the members of the military committee of the tribunal and revolutionary commission. While the commission was deciding on, and levying the contributions which the insurgents had declared due
to

to the country by the enemies of the revolution, it changed its financial occupations into functions far more dreadful, and a second revolutionary tribunal was soon after erected. For more than a year past a popular society under the name of "*Mountaineers, Centinels of Liberty*," had been formed at Geneva: the views of the leaders in this society were to destroy the constituted authorities, and to disorganize the revolution: a plan was distributed in the name of these Mountaineers, and amongst the different popular societies, containing amongst other propositions, that of arresting all those citizens who had composed the Genevese authorities from the 28th December, 1792, to the present period: this project included various classes, from the first merchant to the lowest tradesman; these ultra-revolutionary propositions alarmed the

re-

revolutionists, who immediately shut up the club of Mountaineers, imprisoned the leaders, and put the rest of the members under arrest at their own houses. The Patriots then ordered the revolutionary commission to form itself into a revolutionary tribunal, and to do justice to the enemies of independence, the factions of anarchy, the aristocrats and *Engloués* who had escaped the vigilance of the former tribunal. The first who appeared at the bar of this new tribunal, were the Anarchists, and enemies of independence, leaders in the insurrection of the 19th of July; four of whom, after being heard in their defence, were condemned to death as traitors to their country; a few members of the Mountaineer-society were sentenced to perpetual banishment; others to the same punishment for different periods; some were deprived of
their

their political rights, and the greatest number, who had only been misled, were dismissed with a fraternal admonition. At this period a *national commission* was formed; the revolutionary commission was dissolved, and was succeeded by a *commission of liquidation*, which undertook to weigh the purses of the Genevois, and tax them according to their weight, and the political opinions of their possessors.

The inhabitants of the country, who had seen nothing in the Revolution of 1792, but an exemption from taxes, refused with obstinate perseverance to pay any contribution, and concluded with giving little. A revolt in the garrison of the town was appeased, and punished by the breaking of two companies of cannoneers. Commerce, disengaged by degrees from revolutionary requisitions,

re-

resumed a free course; a part of the produce of the extraordinary taxes was usefully applied to patriotic establishments, to the advancement of the sciences and arts, and the encouragement of literature. All the titles of former citizenship, all the parchments of the privileged orders, were publicly burnt on the day of the national festival; and the petitions of numbers of citizens presented to the revolutionary clubs to obtain a revision of their judgment, were favourably heard, and justice became, as in France, once more the order of the day.

Geneva, true to its prototype, as soon as France had formed a constitution, formed or changed its constitution also; in which, however, there is this singular distinction, that, whilst a catholic country, France, admits partizans of every religion, the Jew, Mahometan, and Protestant,

testant, to an equal participation of rights, the Genevan shut the door sternly against Catholics, and shrinks almost from its liberality in having admitted the follower of Luther. This narrow spirit of bigotry is confined to the lower classes of the people; and the attempts hitherto made by its more enlightened citizens to change the opinion that Catholicism and slavery are not necessarily connected, have been unsuccessful. It is not unworthy of observation, that the great religious Reformer of Geneva, who has given his name to the most extensive portion of the Protestant world, should have rivetted the chains of religious despotism, while he became, by his political institutions, the father of civil liberty in Europe. These spots in the constitution of Geneva will perhaps vanish after a few years of independence, provided it can maintain the due balance between its attractive and

repulsive forces, when placed within the orbit of so mighty a planet as the French Republic.

Laufanne to Vevay lies along the border of the lake, which, seen from its level in the direction towards the valley from which its waters flow, to that point where they again become a river, appears like a wide arm of the sea. On the right, the dusky rocks of Chablais skirted the opposite shores, while above our path on the left, the pendant vines, though now despoiled of their purple clusters, spread their faded drapery along the lofty hills.

At the distance of a mile from Vevay, our ears were struck with sounds which we had not heard since our arrival in Switzerland. These were the Marfeillois march, proceeding from a band of music, which

which the turn of an angle of the road brought within our view, and which was followed by a numerous band of young men, who, with great good-humour and gaiety, hailed us by the long unheard salutations of "Bon jour, citoyens; Bon jour, citoyennes." We answered these republican compliments in the same style in which they were made, and concluded that this was a groupe of the new French citizens of Mont Blanc, who had crossed the lake for the purpose of a festival. The day, alas! proved no festival to this gay troop, as I shall have occasion to relate.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Vevay.—Chateau de Chillon.—St. Maurice.—Proscription of French Newspapers, and French Principles.—Torrent of Salenches.—Sion Government, and Despotism of the higher Vallais.—Revolt of the lower Vallais.—Miserable Fate of the Insurgents.

VEVAY is esteemed the most beautiful town in the Pays de Vaud. The hills, fertile to their summits in corn and wine, which had hitherto skirted the lake, forming a rich and beautiful amphitheatre, here rise into mountains, which gradually swelled at no great distance into part of that immense chain of Alps that form the southern barrier of Switzerland.

Vevay is the principal port for the commerce of the Vallais, and formerly of Savoy, with the latter of which, now

forming part of the French Republic, there was no more friendly communication than could be well avoided. The country around Vevay, where Rousseau has placed the scene of his charming romance, is become classic ground. On our left, as we journeyed towards the Vallais, we passed the village of Clarens, embosomed in trees at the foot of a mountain; farther on is the castle of Chillon, seated in the lake; over which, on the opposite side, hang the dark rocks of Meillerie. It would be hopeless to attempt a new sketch of these enchanting regions after the glowing description of Rousseau, which has already been so often detailed by the hundred sentimental pilgrims, who with *Heloise* in hand, run over the rocks and mountains to catch the lover's inspiration. All in nature is still romantic, wild, and graceful, as Rousseau has

painted it; but the soothing charm associated with the moral feeling, is in some sort dissolved. The soft image of the impassioned Julia no longer hovers around the castle of Chillon; which is now converted into a Swiss Bastile, and guarded by a stern soldiery. The tear of sensibility which has so often been shed over this spot for the woes of fiction, may now fall for sorrows that have the dull reality of existence. It is not the imaginary maternal shriek that pierces the ear, it is the groan of the patriot rising from the floor of his damp dungeon that rends the heart.

We rambled through this romantic scenery a considerable part of the day, which, it being now the season when the “teeth of the Jaman begin to whiten,” had drawn quite to its close before

before we reached the village of Bex, celebrated for its extensive salt-works.

We had now entered the lower Vallais, that immense gulph which separates the double range of Alps and Glaciers that divide Switzerland from Italy; and which, branching off from the mass that forms St. Gothard, slightly diverge from each other for nearly an hundred miles to the lake of Geneva, formed by the Rhone that rises at the farther extremity of the Vallais.

When we reached St. Maurice, we had attained the furthest limits of Swiss territory. Here begins the government of the democracy of the Vallais. The closing mountains are connected by a wooden gate which locks up the Republic, and forbids all entrance to those who shrink from examination. A bridge

of one arch thrown over the Rhone at this pass is esteemed a fine monument of Roman architecture. On the rocks rising from the water is built the castle of the Bailiff, to whom is committed the important charge of excluding all French principles, and all French newspapers, the Gazette of Berne excepted; this we saw notified by a placard stuck on the wall, which stated the various degrees of corporal punishment to be inflicted on those who should indulge themselves in discussions on the principles of Government, or be guilty of the overt act of receiving or reading the papers.

About two leagues beyond St. Maurice, we came within the sound of the cataract of Salenche; which, on ascending the little eminence that concealed it from our view, we beheld pouring from an enormous height its divided streams

streams which used to rush down the perpendicular rock in one broad street, producing a far sublimer effect; but the artificer, whose little mill is placed near the fall, informed us, that some months before he had obtained permission of the Bailiff, or Abbot of St. Maurice, to apply part of the torrent to his use, which he contrived to do by rolling rocks into the stream above and dividing its current,

Had the Abbot furnished the poor cottager with the means of directing part of the water to his mill after it had descended, which, with a small expence he could have done, his benevolence would have deserved applause; but to arrest with profane hand the waters at their eagle-height, and turn them from their headlong pathway, was

a sacrilegious attempt on the majesty of the cataract, never to be forgiven.

From the town of Martinach we proceeded to Sion, the capital of the Vallais. The Bishop's palace is pleasantly seated on an eminence which commands a noble view of the surrounding mountains, and finely cultivated plain, through which the Rhone winds smoothly along.

The government of the Haut Vallais is democratic, being divided into seven departments, each of which sends a member chosen by the whole body of the male inhabitants, above the age of fourteen years, to the congress, which is held twice a year, and is composed of these seven members, the Bishop and President of the Republic, who is chosen by this assembly for two years. As these deputies are named annually, and can
never

never swerve from the instructions they receive from their constituents, there seems nothing in the institution that is unfavourable to liberty; but, unfortunately, the same vices that prevail in the democracies of Switzerland, and the Grisons, have also their influence in the Vallais. This liberty, such as it is, belongs to the Haut Vallais alone. A rivulet that flows from the mountains at some little distance below Sion, marks the difference between the sovereign and the subject.

At the close of the fifteenth century the inhabitants of both the upper and lower Vallais had joined their forces to overthrow the power of the Bishop; but quarrelling afterwards for the division of the spoil, a bloody combat ensued, and ended in the discomfiture of the lower Vallais, which has remained sub-

subject since that period, and is governed like other subjects of the Swiss Cantons, by Bailiffs. Of this subjection the lower Vallais is sometimes very sensibly reminded by their sovereigns of the mountains. About four years since, these Vassals had so far forgotten their allegiance, as to break out into open revolt; the Bailiff of Monthey, having thought fit to throw one of these subjects into prison because he refused to pay an extraordinary fine, the people of the lower Vallais conceived an opinion that they had a right to rid themselves of both Bailiff and Sovereigns. This act of treason and rebellion, was, however, punished in a very exemplary manner. The democrats of the higher Vallais no sooner heard of this atrocious attempt of their subjects, than without deigning to use the military appareil of cannon, or
waiting

waiting to organize an army, they poured down from their mountains with pitchforks, spades, threshing flails, and ropes, as the Syracusans armed with whips marched against their slaves, and fell upon the insurgents without moderation or mercy.

The fate of war hung doubtful, when the sympathetic government of Berne, displaying a just horror at this disloyal conduct, the poor Vallaisans being placed between two fires, were compelled to yield unconditional submission; and the Chiefs of these new assertors of the rights of man, expiated their crimes against their irritated sovereigns at the gallows.

We went no further than Sion, which is only the entrance of the higher Vallais, and had therefore no opportunity of contemplating the Golden Age, which

which is said to be in full bloom above. I have often admired the charming picture which Rousseau traces of the inhabitants of those regions; but I confess that the knowledge of the hanging scene in the lower Vallais has very sensibly diminished my respect for the Sovereigns of the mountain. The iron hand of oppression is not the only evil that is felt by this subject-race; from whatever causes, physical or moral, it proceeds, a number of the inhabitants are afflicted by the most humiliating of all the visitations of heaven, Idiotism. This state, unfelt by the individual, is not even by his family considered as a misfortune. The poor object, whose stupid stare, lolling tongue, distorted laugh, and inarticulated sounds, affect the traveller with horror, is, from some kind superstition, cherished in this region as the favourite of heaven, and
secure

secure of receiving all the tender cares of humanity. Another spectacle of disgust which this country presents, is the excrescence on the neck, known by the name of Goitres, and which is often associated with Idiotism. The lower Vallais, notwithstanding the habitual indolence of the inhabitants, seems well cultivated wherever it is capable of cultivation. This plain is sometimes buried beneath the overflowing waters of the Rhone, which, when swollen by the torrents, disdain other shores than the chain of mountains which bounds the country, but whatever may be the national or moral defects of this region, the inhabitants seem to feel a strong persuasion that they enjoy the peculiar favour of the Supreme Being, and have expressed this sentiment by inscribing from the psalms, on the portal of the town-house, in broad letters, “ The Lord loveth

loveth the gates of *Sion* more than all the tabernacles of Jacob."

We had intended, on our return to Martinach, to visit the Fathers on the summit of the great St. Bernard, but were prevented by hearing that a considerable quantity of snow had just fallen; which, according to our host's information, would require two or three days previous treading by other passengers, before we ought ourselves to ascend. This honest Vallaisan amused us with a long history of the Lords and Dukes whom he had led across those lofty regions; and, in order to inspire us at once with respect and confidence, told us he had even conducted a prince of the blood-royal of England, and the King of Prussia.

Nothing

Nothing alarmed us more during the latter part of our travels in Switzerland than intelligence of the intimacy of our inn-keeper with the great. We had already been tolerably taxed at Bellinzone in consequence of the magnificent ideas of expence which our landlord had acquired by conducting the charming Duchefs of Devonshire over St Gothard. We were perfectly aware that the imperial honours and trophies which bloomed around our host at Martinach, portended no good to our plebeian purses, and therefore, without waiting till the snows were hardened, we ordered our horses and returned to Vevay.

CHAP. XXXV.

Fribourg.—Romantic Situations.—Government, and Tyranny of the Canton.—Revolt of the People.—Miserable Fate of the Insurgents.

WE passed the last fine days of autumn on the delightful banks of the lake of Geneva, and after various excursions in the Pays de Vaud, returned by the Canton of Fribourg to Berne.

The general aspect of this country presents inexhaustible beauties to the lover of landscape; but no part of it is more romantic than the town and neighbourhood of Fribourg itself. We had imagined that the first inhabitants of Laufanne had selected the most inconvenient spot in the country on which to build their city; but found that the genius of the ancient Friburghers

burghers had far surpassed them in this species of choice. A small part of the town is built on level ground, the rest is perched among rocks and cliffs, forming an assemblage of the most grotesque situations. The houses are in general spacious, and well built; many of the public edifices are dedicated to religion, this Canton being eminently devout and catholic. The Cathedral is remarkable for its solidity and elegance; but the town, however agreeable to the passing traveller from its picturesque situation, wears a solitary and cheerless aspect.

The government of Fribourg, like those of Lucerne and Soleure, is a confirmed aristocracy. The power is centered in the hands of a council of two hundred, who, with various divisions, and subdivisions of authority, hold the ab-

solute sovereignty. Some modifications were made in their original constitution fifteen or sixteen years since, when the inhabitants of the Canton, irritated at the various depredations committed on their persons and properties by that portion of the sovereign called Bailiffs, assembled together and besieged Fribourg itself.

It is somewhat remarkable, that in a long and varied excursion through Switzerland, a country which has been said to produce Arcadian wealth and happiness to the lower classes, we should scarcely have passed over a territory which had not been the scene of a revolt.

The inhabitants of the Canton of Fribourg, like those of the lower Vallais, had not to struggle with their own tyrants

rants alone ; the sovereign council cooped within its walls, might have been compelled to capitulate to its subjects, had not the sympathetic sovereign council of Berne, struck again with horror at this unparalleled and sacrilegious outrage committed against their ally, assembled instantly its forces and marched to their relief. The insurgents were of course reduced to reason. The chiefs saved themselves from the shame of a public execution by throwing themselves with desperation upon the bayonets of the satellites sent to apprehend them ; and various punishments were inflicted on the rest. The French ministry kindly lending its assistance towards the preservation of regular governments in Europe, although it had at that period discovered a different policy with respect to America, condescended to become the public executioner of the vengeance of

the Fribourg-magistracy, and sent their victims to the gallies, whence they were released by order of the first National Assembly.

The insurgents being thus severely punished, it is natural to suppose that the wrongs of which they complained were totally disregarded. Some small changes were made in their constitution that gave a greater extension of power to those families in the sovereign council who possessed little or none previous to this insurrection. To them the rebellion proved of advantage; but the people were left in the same subject state, and were permitted, according to a received opinion among the privileged orders of the present day, to know nothing of the laws but to obey them.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Arrival at Berne.—Berne.—Government.—Mode of Election.—Authorities.

ON our arrival at the gates of Berne, we were questioned with stern severity respecting our country, our names, our professions, whence we came, whither we were going, and above all, what were the motives of our visit. Nothing can be more calculated to destroy all impressions of Swiss freedom than this absurd kind of police, which has so completely the air of despotism, and which is particularly disagreeable to an English traveller, who recollects that in his own country, strangers from every quarter of the globe are received without inquiry or distrust; and are not subject to the impertinent interrogations of officers civil or military. The town of Berne, although the capital only

of a Canton, may, from its elegance, rank with the capitals of extensive States; but the public buildings, beautiful walks, and sublime prospects of this city, have often been described.

The French Revolution has had a considerable influence on the political concerns of Berne. The sovereignty of this Canton, like that of the other aristocratic Cantons of Switzerland, is centered in a great council, a senate, which is a division of the former, and of magistrates chosen out of this latter body. The great council, called the two hundred, is in absolute possession of the sole and undivided authority of the state, the immediate exercise of which is committed to the senate, composed of twenty-seven members. The vacancies in the senate are filled up by the great council, as those which take place among the members of
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this body are filled up by individuals, chosen principally among the burghers of Berne. The power of the government of this Canton is the least limited of any in Switzerland. In the great and important interests of the state, both foreign and domestic, such as levying taxes, or making war and peace, the citizens of Lucerne, Fribourg, and Soleure, assemble to deliberate and decide; but at Berne nothing is less sovereign than the people, to whom, in no case, is any appeal made, either for approbation or authority. All places of honour, authority, or profit, belong exclusively to seventy-six families of Berne, of whom the great council is composed; but as some of the families who possess those vast and important privileges, furnish twelve, fourteen, and even twenty members, it is found that seventeen families share at present the majority of votes.

In the space of ten years, a vacancy in the council of seventy or eighty members takes place by death. At this period, an electoral assembly, consisting of the great officers of state, the senate, and sixteen members of the great council whom it names, proceed to the important nomination. The choice of the state-officers, and the senate, may be supposed to have been long fixed on the members of their own families, but who shall be the happy mortal on whom the choice of the yet unelected, and unknown *sixteeners* shall fall? If the sixteener has a son of full age, the business is of course decided; but if he be only blessed with a daughter, historians relax from their dignity to describe with what ardour of passion twenty aspiring youths, who, till that eventful moment, had gazed upon the nymph without emotion, become suddenly enamoured of her charms. It must indeed

be allowed, that marriages founded on that obsolete scheme of happiness arising from congenial character, and sympathy of soul, and disdaining all views of interest or ambition, are quite as remote from the speculations of the young men of other great cities, as from those of Berne. The only peculiarity in this instance, is, that the courtship begins and ends in the space of four days, that being the interval between the election of the *sixteener* by the council, and his nomination of his daughter's favoured lover; who immediately becomes a substantial portion of the sovereign, incumbered only with the supplement of a wife.

Mr. Cox mentions, that in his first visit he found the people of Berne by no means so well informed as those of the other Cantons of Switzerland; but that the young Burghers, in order to acquire
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a knowledge of the art of governing, had formed a society called the *External State*, composed of a council, senate, and officers of every rank ; and that all that was done by their fathers, who held the real power, was imitated by their aspiring sons. The offices also of profit were not forgotten, and Bailiffs were named to preside over the ruins of old castles that are scattered through the Canton, in order to prepare their governors for the enjoyment of those splendid Bailliwicks which are in good repair in their neighbourhood.

In his second journey, made ten years afterwards, Mr. Cox congratulates himself, and his readers, that roused from their lethargy, the magistrates had sent to London to purchase instruments of experimental philosophy, and had bought a building for the reception of books. These

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wise regulations would no doubt, in due time, have produced their proper effects. Science would by degrees have infused its benignant rays, and the elegance of literary acquirements would at length have banished the barbarous dialect of their theological school, hitherto the most cultivated branch of their public education.

But the ample page of a new volume having now unrolled to their eyes its rich stores of political knowledge *, we shall probably no longer see these young patricians toiling through this infantine probation in the art of government, the juvenile mimics of great and little councils, Ammans, Avoyers, Grand

* “ But knowledge to their eyes her ample page,
“ Rich with the spoils of time did ne’er unroll.”

GRAY’S ELEGY.

Sautiers, Seizeniers, Bannerets, and Bailiffs.

Notwithstanding the chief magistracy in every department of the state is exclusively chosen among the members of the senate, we are informed by Mr. Cox, that this body is far from enjoying the absolute authority with which other aristocratical senates of Switzerland are invested; and that the great council is in a continual state of watchfulness over its steps; that although aristocratical constitutions are often above all others the most oppressive to the people, who instead of one despot, are governed by an hundred tyrants, Berne, and all the aristocracies of Switzerland, are an exception to this rule; that nothing is more wise and more moderate than the spirit of their governments, and nothing more remote from arbitrary power, than the scrupulous attention

tention with which they respect the privileges of their subjects.

To this testimony may be added that of Mr. Burke, who asserts, that the Republic of Berne is one of the happiest, most prosperous, and best governed countries on earth.

Such were the general ideas entertained of the state of Liberty in Switzerland, before the event of the French Revolution. Since that period, an host of facts are cited to prove opinions of a very different complexion. It is now asserted, that the freedom of Swiss governments has been the subject of eulogium only because compared with the other Republics of Europe; the name bestowed on the small number of oligarchies, the most considerable of which have lately disappeared; the inhabitants of Switzerland

land enjoyed relative advantages; as the glow-worm becomes a luminary when all around is darkness. This important question is at present not only the theme of much animadversion in France, but of keen enquiry amongst the discontented subjects of Berne in the Pays de Vaud.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Reclamations of the Pays de Vaud.—Usurpation and arbitrary Conduct of the Canton of Berne.—Discontent of the Nobles.

THE inhabitants of the extensive and delightful country of the Pays de Vaud have long since discovered in the researches of their history, that formerly they enjoyed the benefits of a free constitution, which they assert was maintained in all its purity, and respected by their princes, till the epoch of the junction of their territory to the Canton of Berne, in the year 1536. They insist, that the rights inherent in the assemblies of the States were incontestible proofs of the liberty of the people; that the Princes of the House of Savoy were little more than their nominal chiefs; and that when their authority was transferred to the Cantons of Berne, and Fribourg, it was expressly

pressly stipulated that this country should retain all the privileges which it then possessed. Hence arises the conclusion, that these Cantons ought not to pretend to the exercise of any other prerogatives, than those which belonged to their princes, and that the government ought to be held by no other tenor, than it was held at the epoch of the treaty.

As the Government of Berne has been far from admitting the justice of these claims, it may be conjectured, that various are the acts of illegal authority of which these subjects have had to complain. The first blow given to the constitution of their country, say they, was the division of the Pays de Vaud between the two Cantons; which, by destroying the unity of their government, prevented the convocation of the states. In order to root out ancient prejudices and attachments,

ments, after this first great division had taken place, various subdivisions were made of the government of districts; and the single Bailiff, or representative of the Duke of Savoy, with very limited power, was quartered out into twenty-nine sovereign Bailiffs from the Cantons of Berne, and Fribourg.

The people of the Pays de Vaud assert, that, in consequence of this disorganization of their constitution, their governors have instituted the most illegal and arbitrary customs; that they have made military contracts with the various princes of Europe for troops which are annually recruited from the Pays de Vaud; the command of which is monopolized by the patrician families of Berne; that the militia of the country has not only been raised and organized, without its permission, but in several instances has

been made the instrument of the vengeance and tyranny of their governors, or the Cantons their allies; and that the lucrative civil employments which were originally but few, instead of being distributed as formerly, among the citizens of the country, are now confined to the seventy-six reigning families of Berne, and increased at pleasure according to their wants or their avarice.

Heretofore, they continue, the States of the Pays de Vaud made treaties of alliance offensive and defensive with the neighbouring powers. Payerne, Avenche, the capital of antient Helvetia, and the Republic of Laufanne, have successively concluded treaties of alliance with Berne, and but ten years previous to their junction, were styled, according to the letter of those treaties, their good friends, and dear neighbours. This sentiment of friend-

friendship, and good neighbourhood, has indeed, long since, given place to a more intimate connection of another kind, though with fewer feelings of reciprocal affection.

These patriots seem to have no such clear perception of the benefits which have resulted to their country from this connection, as the historian of the reformation *, who with some naiveté, observes to the good people of Laufanne, “that although what were called regal rights, such as the right of pardon, of coining, of raising troops, and other acts of sovereignty and independence, were transferred to Berne: yet as the treasure of the cathedral, and the episcopal archives were also transported thither, after due confiscation of the estates of the clergy,

* Abraham Ruschat, abrégé de l'histoire ecclesiastique de Pays de Vaud, Vol. v. p. 667.

a great door was opened to the inhabitants of Laufanne to come to the truth; and that they ought to rejoice in the advantages they received in return for those temporal treasures, by the establishment of the Reformation, advantages infinitely precious, as they refer to the life to come."

The indignant patriots of the Pays de Vaud, date the evils of which they complain from this period, which they sarcastically call the "blessed reformation;" which, by dividing the opinions of the people, sunk them more easily into subjection. They also tell us, that the ecclesiastical benefices of their country were secularized to make aristocratical benefices; that * the sacred vases, the saints of

* The decrees of the National Assembly declaring the estates of the church the property of the nation, which raised against them from the protestant governments

of silver and gold, the precious decorations of the episcopal church, and of their
ments in Europe, for the catholics were better informed, the cry of sacrilege and impiety was no where more severely censured than at Berne. Dr. Cart amuses himself with imagining the tenor of the conversations respecting these atrocious acts of injustice, that sometimes passed between the French emigrant Bishops and the Bailiff of Lausanne, the present possessor of the episcopal palace, in right of such sacrilegious confiscations at the Reformation; with this difference, that the estates of the Church in France were appropriated to pay the debts of the Nation, while here they were consecrated to form revenues for private families, who were strangers to the country.

Among the victims of the Reformation in the Pays de Vaud, was the rich Prior of Romainmoitiers. He had some other possessions in Franche Comté, and fled thither, when a Burgher of Berne, as Bailiff, took possession of his estates. Two hundred and sixty years after, the French Revolution leads his successors to seek refuge in Berne. Finding the government petrified with horror at the atrocious acts of the Revolution, and particularly those which regarded the

their monasteries, were transported to Berne; and that those offerings which the piety of their ancestors had consecrated to God, but which the pious historian of the reformation calls spoils from Satan, were converted into long chains of gold, to decorate the persons, as the Church, the Abbé Petit Jean, observed, that they could give no proof more convincing of their detestation, than by ordering the present Bailiff who happened to be a General, to vacate a seat which belonged in right to a monk. The Abbé gained permission to examine the archives of his house, which were transported to Berne; and finding charters which proved his right to the priory, whilst he was looking for other documents, he had the simplicity to write a pamphlet to prove that the Government had no right to deprive the Church of the estates of his priory, or to appropriate them to its own service. The Chancellor of Berne, attested the conformity of the copies to the original; but as to restitution, the Government still continued exceedingly indignant at the atrocious decree of the National Assembly, which had forced the Abbé to leave his priory in Franche Comté.

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other precious effects of the church had been taken for the use, and now remain heir-looms of patrician families. They complain how little they have gained by exchanging a Bailiff, for a Bishop; a Burgher, for a Prince; the ministers of their religion, and their convents of pious vestals, consecrating their holy lives to the service of heaven, for the dissipation and luxurious domination of arrogant usurpers.

It is no more true, however, as the present writers in favour of the liberty of the Pays de Vaud, pretend, that the true cause of the zeal of the reformers of Berne, is to be found in the rich spoils of the church, which they meditated seizing and transporting to their city, than it is true that the sublime effort which effected the French Revolution, had, as some assert, its origin in the delirious ambition of demagogues. Both the Re-

formation and the Revolution were founded on principles more generous than the gratification of sordid or selfish passions, although these noble causes have been sometimes sullied by the conduct of their respective adherents.

It is worthy of remark, that the disciples of the Romish church discovered no less abhorrence of the innovations at that period, than the descendants of the reformers of Berne feel for the reformers of the present day. Luther, and the Reformation, were then objects of no less horror, than are now the French Propagande, and the Rights of Man. Only ten years before the junction of the Pays de Vaud to Berne, the states of the former country assembled at Moudon, within a few leagues of Berne, decreed, that if any one should buy any book, or propagate any doctrine of that cursed and disloyal

disloyal heretic, Martin Luther, "he should, in case of hardness and obstinacy, be burnt alive, with the books, if such were in his possession."

The government of Berne is accused not only of having deprived the Vaudois of their liberties, but of having drained them of their money, by extorting arbitrary contributions under the most frivolous pretences; it appears from these calculating patriots, that the families who compose the Council of two hundred, being in possession of all the lucrative offices of the state, among which are sixty Bailliwicks, share, in the space of six years, a profit of upwards of six millions of livres, which, with other employments, yielding four millions more, make up ten millions, to be divided amongst these families, independent of the salaries arising from their offices at Berne.

In addition to these proconsular endowments, of which, according to the usual rate of compensation for services to governments, there is perhaps not much reason to complain, and on which the celebrated Haller was too severe, when he asserted that “the treasures of the Republic were become the private purse of the patrician,” *focages, lods, droits de main-morte, guet, et garde, corvées*, and other taxes, admirably calculated, as Boileau said of those of Lewis the Fourteenth, to impoverish subjects, and enrich dictionaries, weigh heavy on the Pays de Vaud, and have occasioned murmurs so loud and frequent from the Communes, that the Burghers of Berne, at the epoch of the French Revolution, promised that these remonstrances should be taken into due consideration.

In answer to the defenders of the right of the absolute government of Berne over
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the Pays de Vaud, from its being a conquered country, these Vaudois maintain that such conquest was never effected. They assert that when the Duke of Savoy, in violation of the treaty of 1530, called the Treaty of St. Julian, which was formed to guarantee Geneva from future invasion, had again taken arms, the government of Berne found the Pays de Vaud faithful to its alliance; not only renewing the treaty at the moment when war was declared by this government against the Duke of Savoy, their nominal Sovereign, but zealous in supporting the cause for which the contest took place. They contend, that, instead of opposing the projects of the government of Berne, they had espoused its interest with warmth; without suspecting that their confederation against a faithless Prince would have been construed by their ally

into

into a conquest over themselves; that even if the final expulsion of the Duke could be deemed a conquest of his rights, as Protector, the privileges of the states, which were at all times independent of his power, could not by this event be annulled.

There are other readings in history respecting this event. It is acknowledged that the vexations exercised against the Genevans by the Duke of Savoy, had afforded a just pretence for the interposition of the Canton of Berne; but that at the time of this pretended conquest, the Duke was too busily employed in resisting the invasion of his states by Francis the First, to think of acting the oppressor with respect to Geneva. The occasion was nevertheless too favourable to be omitted by Berne; the Pays de Vaud

Vaud became absolutely dependent on the will of its new Protector; and Geneva would have shared the same fate, had it not redeemed its independence at the expence of its purse.

It is moreover contended, that as the constitution of the Pays de Vaud was never renounced by the inhabitants of the state, or annulled by any decree of the Cantons, admitting such decrees to have had any authority, the present subjects of the government of Berne are authorised to insist on the re-establishment of the antient constitution, and demand the convocation of the states, as their only lawful representatives.

This disaffection of the Pays de Vaud, it appears from the account given by Mr. Cox, existed twenty years since. “ The
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exclusion," he observes, "of the nobility of the Pays de Vaud, and of course of the other inhabitants, from any share in the administration of the state, occasioned so great a discontent with the mild and equitable government under which they lived, that the greater part of the upper classes were very willing to change their republican, into a monarchical constitution." It is not easy to judge of the mildness and equity of a government, where the majority would wish to get rid of their republican servitude, in order to enjoy monarchical liberty. It appears that the true rendering of the passage, as well as the true interpretation given to the discontent, should be, that on account of the vexations to which they were compelled to submit, instead of wishing to turn their republican into a monarchical constitution, they would be happy

happy to find an opportunity of changing their oligarchy into a representative republic*.

* In citing this fact of the discontent of the inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud, I have made use of the French translation of Mr. Cox's Tour, by M. Ramond, printed in Paris in 1781. Having consulted the translation of the Second Tour, printed in Paris, in 1790, not having the means of consulting the original, I found that this important fact respecting the Pays de Vaud is omitted. As Mr. Cox is always cited as an authority, it is probable that the translator in this instance, has been unfaithful; for as Mr. Cox informs us in his preface, that he has not only compared and examined all he had before written, and read every critique on his former work, but had also employed the most distinguished characters in politics and literature in each principal town to correct his errors, it can scarcely be suspected that any grave senator of Berne would have drawn his pen across his former account of the seditious spirit of the Pays de Vaud, as an error; or that so accurate an historian would have left unnoticed the increase of that spirit of discontent, the existence of which he had already mentioned, and which has risen to so great a height as by its effects to menace even the existence of government.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

State of the Peasantry and Manufactures in the Canton of Berne.—Domestic Coalitions.—Arts of Government. Discontent of the People of the Pays de Vaud.—Celebration of the Anniversary of the French Revolution. Revolutionary Tribunals.

THE administration of the governments of Switzerland have been represented as more mild and forbearing in general than other governments of similar construction. Although seditions have frequently been punished with great severity, yet the implicit obedience of the subject never fails of being rewarded by the paternal protection of the state, the members of which, since the event of the French Revolution, have earnestly inculcated the doctrine, that happiness is to be found rather in tranquillity, than in the turbulent freedom of equal rights.

CHAP. This

This language is said to have lulled a great part of the peasantry into the persuasion that there is always a sufficient quantity of liberty where there is peace. The peasantry in every country is the class least given to inquiry; they are affected by no events that do not immediately interest themselves, and are therefore the last to entertain the spirit of revolutionary enterprise; unless when driven to despair, which has sometimes been the case, by the rapacity of their proconsular governors.

The inhabitants of towns, on the contrary, who are better informed, who have nicer feelings, and a more intimate knowledge of the events that are passing in the world, are more quick-sighted in guarding against abuses and encroachments; and from frequent association are

more prepared to take advantage of every favourable circumstance that may offer to correct them.

In some parts of Switzerland the peasantry enjoy a certain rank in society above the peasantry of other countries; and though they have no rights as citizens, possess some privileges, such as that of bearing arms, on which they set no little value. In the German part of the Canton of Berne, this class, by which is understood not merely labourers, but the inhabitants of the country in general, known in England under the name of yeomanry, being particularly favoured by the government, are taught to look up to their excellencies of Berne with reverential awe and respect.

The solicitude of the government for the welfare of its subjects is, how-

ever, extended to few other classes. The manufacturer, less docile than the peasant, is far from holding an equal share in its affection. There is a spirit in that class in all countries more favourable to inquiry, and consequently more hostile to unconditional submission; while, therefore, the peaceful labourer of the glebe enjoys a kind of privileged protection, every prudent method has been adopted to dry up the turbulent source of national wealth which springs from manufactures or commerce.

Although the peasantry form a very respectable body of auxiliaries, the government, since the event of the French revolution, have not been inattentive in framing other alliances, in order to strengthen their authority among their subjects.

The nobles of the Pays de Vaud, who, previous to the year 1782, had been flattered by the prospect of an accession at some future period to a participation of the sovereign power, and who since that epocha had lost every hope of raising themselves above the mechanic and the peasant, were, on the event of the French Revolution, called to share in the honours of the State, by a decree that whenever five of the patrician families became extinct, the void should be filled up by three families taken from the German, and two from the French part of the Canton. This admission to the dignity of the burgher is followed by no solid patrician benefit, since none of the newly elected members can obtain any profitable employment for the space of fifty years; but it was yet believed, that the hope of this splendid elevation, although

though it must be confined to a few, would have sufficient influence to conciliate the whole. Having attempted to form this truce with the nobles, the government faithful to the long established maxim of dividing and ruling, is said to have fomented differences amongst its subjects, by infusing into the peasantry of the Pays de Vaud, a salutary jealousy of their own municipal authorities, who, it was insinuated, were likely to assume a dangerous influence, from which nothing could rescue the former class but their steadfast adherence to the supreme government.

Thus with consummate skill have these sagacious burghers steered their political bark amidst the storm of revolutionary principles, which breaking loose from France, has inundated all Europe; yet, notwithstanding all the arts of

courtesies, and divisions, those principles of independence which are implanted in the human heart, and know no geographical boundaries, have overleapt the dyke which separates Switzerland from France; and the discontents of the Pays de Vaud have kept pace with the increasing spirit of general liberty.

When the French who had long been the ridicule of Europe for their boasted attachment to the person and authority of their despotic monarchs, had shaken off this prejudice, and become clamorous for rights which they had so lately learnt to value, the Reformers of the Pays de Vaud, whose disrespect for their governors had been restrained only by the fear of their power, thought that the auspicious moment was arrived when they might venture to suggest the expediency of a review of
of

of their constitutional privileges. The commune of Morges, in 1790, addressed a memorial to this effect, on occasion of some municipal abuses, to the patri-cians of Berne, and in justification of their claims cited the charters of Lewis of Savoy, Baron of Vaud, of Isabella of Chalons, of Amadeus the fifth, the sixth, the seventh, and onwards, of Philiberts, and Charleses, to prove the validity of their pretensions.

The frowns of the government, at the display of such musty titles, somewhat chilled this patriotic ardour; but the flight of Lewis the XVith to the frontier having been celebrated by festivals, both civil and religious, at Berne and Fribourg, the Patriots of the Pays de Vaud fondly believed that it would be considered as no infraction of their allegiance, if they commemorated with

civic rejoicings the anniversary of the memorable 14th of July. This meeting was publicly advertised; and, although the agents of government, it is asserted, endeavoured to prompt the assembly to indiscretions by exaggerated allusions and propositions, the day passed in tranquillity: patriotic toasts were drank: French airs were sung; and the hat, the symbol of Swiss liberty, affixed on all the public monuments of the State, was paraded with universal acclamation.

This commemoration, which took place at the same time in many towns of the Pays de Vaud, gave serious alarm to the government. There was no positive law against festivals; but the celebration of the 14th of July was an event too big with consequences to be passed over without animadversion; and it was judged necessary to crush the
pro-

progreſs of theſe ſeditious propenſities. Accordingly, on the firſt of September following, a ſpecial tribunal, compoſed of four patricians of Berne, under the name of the high commiſſion, was ſent into the Pays de Vaud, attended by a numerous military train, to bring the offenders to trial.

They had flattered themſelves that the laſt wreck of their liberty, the rights of criminal judicature, would have been held inviolate, and remembered that under the protection of the prince of Savoy, when any conteſt aroſe between the inhabitants and their chief, he was compelled to ſubmit to the deciſion of their tribunals,

The government of Berne had, indeed, already betrayed ſymptoms of a diſpoſition to ſeverity, when on the accuſation,

tion, and by order of the tythe-gatherer, a venerable pastor of a church had been sent to the prison of Berne, on the charge of high treason, for maintaining before his consistory that potatoes were not wheat, and therefore not titheable ; but, although a reclamation against taxes might with an appearance of justice be construed into treason, since it was a seditious opposition to sovereign authority, the celebration of a festival which thousands of their countrymen were, as an act of duty and obedience, celebrating at the same time * in France, would scarcely, they had imagined, be so misinterpreted.

Cannon charged with grape shot, and planted at the end of their principal streets ; the houses of the Patriots converted into barracks for the military,

14th July, 1791.

and

and the arbitrary orders issued for arrests, soon taught the inhabitants of Laufanne that their sovereign had no taste for such compliments to the French nation so near their own territory. In vain the people of the Pays de Vaud inquired what was the crime of their newly invaded country? Had they been in insurrection? Had they taken arms against the burghers of Berne? Had they disobeyed any of their orders? Had they shewn any marks of disrespect to their bailiffs? Had they sent to their faithful ally of three hundred years, deputations of congratulation like the popular societies of the English nation, heretofore, their natural enemies? None of these extravagancies had they committed. Something indeed, like a spirit of insubordination, though not to the extent of the incredulity of the pastor of Mezieres, had discovered itself in humble
repre-

representations against certain abuses in taxation; and they had drank to the success of the French revolution, but without ever conjecturing that those acts could justify an arraignment before such a tribunal.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Trial of the Members of the Festival.—Condemnation of M. de La Harpe.—His subsequent History.

AMONGST those who had been most industrious in promoting a spirit of inquiry in the Pays de Vaud, relative to the abuses of government, was M. de La Harpe, Baron of Yens, and Mutens, whose family had been always in the number of those who had asserted, though without effect, the independence of their country.

The high court opened its commission at Rolle, a little town on the Lake of Geneva, and within a few steps of M. de La Harpe's Chateau, and had already sent two respectable citizens to the dungeons of Chillon; when apprized of his own danger,

danger, he escaped at the very moment that an armed boat appeared in view to convey him to the same prison.

M. de La Harpe went to Geneva, whence he wrote to the Bailiff of his district, that having received the most pressing warnings of his own personal danger, and seeing little hope of establishing proofs of his innocence, when already persons arbitrarily arrested had, without accusation or proof, been sent to the prisons of Chillon, he had thought it prudent to withdraw himself in order to prevent the same injustice from being exercised on his own person; and that having also been long afflicted with rheumatic pains, he feared the damps of the dungeons of Chillon would prove fatal to his health. He observed to the Governor, that his retiring to Geneva ought not to be construed into flight from justice; that he had
taken

taken this step in order to silence the calumnies of his enemies, who would have construed his concealment in any part of his country, now overwhelmed with consternation and despair, into projects of exciting insurrection; that he was ready to appear before any legal tribunal the moment assurances were given, that protection would be afforded to innocence, and the lives and privileges of the subject be preserved*.

No other notice was taken of this letter by his judges, than summoning him twice to appear before their tribunal.

* M. de La Harpe was probably of the opinion of Charles the Sixth's Confessor, to whom the unhappy Monarch expressed his astonishment, that justice had condemned his minister Montagne to death. "Sire, replied the Monk, he has not been tried *by justice*, but only by a *commission*." Hist. de France, par Veltra, Vol. xiii. p. 31.

On

On his non-appearance, a bill for high treason was found against him, to which he answered by a memorial, stating that he demanded neither favour or pardon, since it was a criminal only who stood in need of either; that secure in his innocence, he claimed again what he had at first invoked, a just and legal tribunal; and would continue to demand it to his latest breath. This answer to the accusation was accompanied with a copy of the memorial, and a letter to the Avoyer or President of the Government at Berne, containing the same declarations which he had already made to the Governor of his own district.

The Burghers, after a deliberation of nine months, and a thorough examination of the evidence against him, found M. de La Harpe guilty “of having by indirect means, shewn a disposition to per-

persuade divers folks to make claims, of which some, under *specious* appearances, tended directly to overturn the present constitution of the country ;” and also “ of having celebrated the festival of the 14th of July, when the signals of insurrection were displayed, in order to excite and seduce our faithful subjects,” and therefore condemned M. de La Harpe to be beheaded, and ordered his property to be confiscated to the profit of the state. The high commission had previously condemned some members of this festival to the galleys, some to twenty-five years imprisonment in the dungeons of Chillon, and others to punishments less severe*.

We

* The company of young men whom, three years after this period, we met on our approach to Vevay, and supposed to be Frenchmen who had crossed the Lake to spend an holiday, were young citizens of

We will leave the Baronefs of Auvin, the wife of M. de La Harpe, with her fix children, at the feet of the council of Berne, fuffering the laft sad aggravation of calamity, while forced to implore, not the repeal of the fatal fentence againft the life of her husband, which ſhe had invoked in vain, but to follicit the revocation of that part only, which related to the confifcation of his property, and which, if put in force, muſt reduce herſelf and her infants to all the horrors of poverty. We will leave awhile this deſolate ſuppliant, and follow the convict to the end of his career.

Vevay, who preſuming too much on the relaxed energies of the government, had amused themſelves by ſinging revolutionary ſongs, and displaying the ſignals of French liberty, unmindful of the vigilant Bailiff, who, “broke the good meeting with moſt admired diſorder,” and cauſed ſome of the party to be impriſoned, and others banifhed.

M. de

M. de la Harpe, receiving no answer to his reclamations against the tribunals, sought refuge in the French camp, where he was hailed as a martyr, and named Chief of a battalion of the volunteers of the Seine and Oise, at the close of the year 1791. In the following year, he commanded the advanced posts at the castle of Rodemak on the extreme frontiers of France, and, receiving the first attacks of the coalesced armies on their march into the Republic, was exposed to imminent danger, by the sudden and unexpected surrender of the two frontier towns of Longwy and Verdun. Without hopes of making any effectual resistance, La Harpe was resolved to give the first example of that devotedness which the friends of Liberty owe to her cause, and found no difficulty in communicating this enthusiasm to his soldiers. They all swore on his sword, that they would never

capitulate; and if, when reduced to the last extremity, they could not force their passage, that they would bury themselves with the enemy under the ruins of the castle, the subterraneous passages of which they had converted into mines.

This generous resolution was prevented from being carried into effect by General Luckner, who ordered the post to be evacuated, and the artillery and ammunition to be transported to Thionville.—The order was executed by La Harpe, in sight of the enemy, who had possession of all the surrounding posts; and the address and courage with which it was executed, gained him the appellation of the “brave La Harpe,” a title which was bestowed on him by the General at the head of the army.

After the expulsion of the coalesced armies in the North, he fought for more

active service, and took a command in the army of the Alps. At the siege of Toulon he was appointed to command the attack on Fort Pharo, which he carried by assault, and forced the English to evacuate the post; upon which he was made General of Brigade.

On his return to the army of Italy, he took the command of the advanced guard, and opened the communication with Genoa, by defeating the Austrians at Cairo, in 1794. In the beginning of the following year he was appointed to conduct the expedition which was destined to relieve Corsica; but this plan being relinquished he resumed his former position in the army of Italy, which, at this period reduced to two thirds less than the Austrian army, was compelled to retreat. In this perilous situation, La Harpe conducted himself with so much

skill, as to defeat his pursuers at Vado, and took such positions with his enfeebled force, that the Austrian General, who had assured himself of the conquest of Provence, was compelled to give up his projected invasion.

La Harpe, now raised to the rank of General of Division, kept possession of the line of defence, which he had traced out, till reinforcements arrived, and the command of the army devolved on Buonaparte.

That the military skill and valour of La Harpe powerfully contributed to ensure the first successes of that immortal campaign, has been recorded by Buonaparte himself, and therefore belongs to history. The Directory acknowledged the obligations of the Republic to La Harpe for his eminent services, in formal letters

of congratulation to himself, and his son, a youth of sixteen years of age, who fought at his side. But the most noble instance of his magnanimity was the friendly and cordial reception which he gave the officers of the Swiss regiment of Stetler, made prisoners at Mandovi, some of whom had voted his proscription. "I hope," said this illustrious convict to his judges, "that at no distant day, we shall meet together in Switzerland as friends."

That day, alas, will never arrive! In the midst of his career of glory, La Harpe fell by the hands of his own soldiers, who mistook him and his troop, in the darkness of the night, on their return from repelling a sudden attack of the enemy, for the enemy themselves. The loss of this brave officer overwhelmed the army with consternation and sorrow. Buona-

parte, in the relation he sent of this un-

happy event to the Directory, declared, that “the Republic had lost a citizen firmly attached to its interests, the army one of its best generals, and every foldier a comrade, who was as intrepid in action, as he was in discipline severe.”*

We

* It is not unworthy of remark, that, among the Generals who have rendered themselves the most illustrious in the defence of the French Republic, we find the names of Italians, English, Scotch, Irish, and Germans; such as Kleber, Macdonald, Kilmain, Sherlock, and Massena. In the present instance, a Corsican pays the tribute of his praises and regrets to a Swiss. The friend of liberty, whatever may be his native soil, considers every free state as his country. It may also be observed, to the honour of foreigners, that amongst those who have devoted themselves to the cause of liberty, the instances are rare of such as have rendered themselves unworthy of the service. I have indeed, from being myself deceived, misled my readers in the first volume of my Letters on Revolutionary Government, respecting an officer once employed in the French service, and well known both in England
and

We have left Madame de La Harpe at the feet of the burghers of Berne, imploring their mercy for the support of her children. Buonaparte, after the death of her husband, became a suppliant in the petition; and it was then readily admitted that there was a mistake in the sentence, and that the property of General La Harpe had never been confiscated. Had the hero of Italy pushed the inquiry a little further, the govern-

and France. It is with keen regret that I am compelled to retract those opinions, having since their publication received the most decisive evidence of that General's want of every principle of honour and integrity. This evidence has lately been confirmed by the relation given me by Mr. Muir, and other gentlemen, whose testimony, relying on facts collected during their residence in the Spanish dominions in South America, leave me no alternative to the task, however painful, of undeceiving those whom I may heretofore have misled.

ment

ment of Berne would probably have discovered that the sentence was altogether misunderstood, and that La Harpe had never been condemned to be beheaded.

CHAP. XL.

Discontents of the popular Party.—Reclamation of the Guarantee of the Privileges of the Pays de Vaud by France.—History of that Treaty.—Grievs of Switzerland against the French Republic.—Grievs of the French Republic against Switzerland.—Remedies proposed by the popular Party.—Reflections on the Progress of the French Revolution.

THE severity of the government of Berne towards the members of the festival of the fourteenth of July, by the introduction of cannon, and revolutionary tribunals, called by one of their writers, “The art of governing possessed in an eminent degree, by the administration of Berne, and nearly lost in the rest of Europe,” has added an inexhaustible stock of fuel to that discontent, which, Mr. Cox asserts, led the upper classes, twenty years since, to wish for a monarchical government. Their descendants, however, partaking of the contagion of the times, openly

openly demand, with no tempered language or dissembled phrases, the aid of a foreign power, to establish a system of republican independence. With this view, they claim the guarantee made by the French nation in 1565, in confirmation of the treaty of Laufanne, concluded the preceding year between Philibert, the successor of Charles the Third, Duke of Savoy, and the Swiss Cantons.

In that treaty the Prince made a formal renunciation of whatever title he claimed to the Pays de Vaud, upon regaining possession of the Pays de Gex, Bresse, and other districts, which continued to enjoy those privileges under the domination of Savoy and France, of which their fellow subjects, the Vaudois, were deprived under the paternal protection of the government of Berne. As that engagement was cited in the treaty
of

of 1582, so all foregoing intermediate treaties were confirmed the last treaty of 1777, made at Soleure. France, which, as well as the House of Savoy, became by those treaties the guarantee of the liberties of the Pays de Vaud, is now the legal representative of that house, by the late peace of 1796. The popular party in the Pays de Vaud therefore assert, that if France, when a monarchy, protected for more than two centuries the usurpation of the patricians, France, now a republic, will fulfil her engagements in favour of the rights of the people*.

* The glory of giving independence to his country, if that event takes place, will chiefly belong to Colonel La Harpe, the cousin of the General. A residence of twelve years in the court of Russia, and the menaces of the government of Berne, seem only to have strengthened and confirmed in Colonel La Harpe the most ardent zeal for the cause of liberty.

To

To incite the government of France to an examination of the treaties, by which their liberties are said to be guaranteed, they have been industrious in shewing, not only how much it is the interest of the Republic, that this information should take place, but that its honour is engaged to avenge the numerous insults and injuries committed by these Cantons during the present contest.

But of insults and injuries the Swiss also complain; the massacre of a part of their troops on the 10th of August; the dismissal of the rest; the withdrawing the annual subsidy from the catholic Cantons; the release of the Fribourg insurgents from the galleys; the triumph of the soldiers of the regiment of Chateaueux; and the *propagande*, have been urged as grounds of discontent, and justifications even of enmity.

To

To these charges it has been answered, that the massacre of the Swifs, admitting it to be a massacre, was the consequence of a popular infurrection, in which, as the Swifs regiment of guards had been dismissed by the assembly two months previous to the catastrophe, they ought not to have taken part. That the dismissal of the remainder was become necessary for their own safety; that the hiring of foreign foldiers to fight in a cause not their own, was contrary to every principle of humanity; and that their dismissal was accompanied with a strict regard to justice in the full indemnities and pensions paid to the officers and foldiers. With respect to the other charges, it is observed, that the Constituent Assembly, in releasing the Fribourghers, had only wiped off the stain of the old government which had sent them to the gallies; that the foldiers of Chateau-
vieux

vieux were the blind dupes of a faction, and that the dreaded *propagande* never existed.

If, notwithstanding these explanations, it be contended that the balance of national wrongs were yet against the French, it is asserted that the Swifs have amply settled the account. From the beginning of the Revolution, the governments, democratical as well as aristocratical, have been its decided enemies. Not only were the Swifs soldiers in the service of France compelled, on their temporary visits to their country, to divest themselves of the national cockade which formed a part of their uniform, but Frenchmen themselves were constrained to hide every symbol of liberty, in order to avoid being exposed to insult. Although affording an asylum to the unfortunate is a debt which both governments and individuals owe to humanity,

humanity, yet the warm welcome given to the French emigrants by the Cantons of Berne, Soleure and Fribourg, might be considered by France as an infringement of national friendship, if not of neutrality. It was in these Cantons that the emigrant army took its rise, and almost on the French frontier, under the eyes of the officers of their governments, that the most active agents of the counter-revolution established their offices of correspondence. The patricians of those Cantons took part even in the measures of the coalition, although their instructions were framed in so indirect a manner as to be disavowed according to circumstances. The reality of the engagements they had taken ought further to be presumed, from the indirect praises bestowed on their conduct, in the famous answer addressed by the French Princes to Louis the Sixteenth, at the close of

the year 1791, which contained a detailed enumeration of the powers on which the Monarch might rely for the re-establishment of his authority. Although complaints were made of this publication, it is insisted that the adhesion was not the less founded, and that the cession of certain portions adjoining the Swiss territory, was promised to these Cantons in the general division of France, which, from the force of the coalition, it was presumed would speedily take place. These engagements, continue the reformers, were kept secret till the invasion of Savoy by the French, when under pretence of securing the independence of Geneva, the patricians of Berne lined the frontiers of the department of Ain, and the Jura, with numerous armies, intending to pour them into that quarter as soon as the Prussians and Austrians, who were then in Champagne, should

have

have passed Chalons. This attempt was discovered and defeated by the Minister Claviere, to whom, it must be observed, the Swiss attribute the design, not only of invading Geneva, but of pursuing the conquest into the territory of the Pays de Vaud; which project they assert was prevented by the disobedience of Montesquieu, who commanded the French army in that quarter, and by the moderation of the Ambassador* of France.

The

* These warlike preparations on the part of the Canton of Berne, it is said, was a measure only of self-defence. Mr. Burke, who is in this case an undoubted authority, informs us, that the Canton of Berne began very early to act on the *defensive*. The import of this phrase is now pretty generally understood. Of the notion which the leading patricians of Berne had of acting on the *defensive*, something may be learnt from a letter of M. Mallet du Pan, to Marshall Castries, dated September 17, 1792. By this letter, intercepted and deposited in the Archives of

The popular party maintained, that the Governors of these Cantons not only omitted

the French Government, it appears that Swiss troops, on the deliverance of the King from his captivity, of which at that period no doubt was entertained, were to have the exclusive honour of guarding the royal person. The writer of this letter observes, that as military government must for some time necessarily be established in France, it was expedient to appoint such men to places of confidence, as had sufficient nerve to execute the trust; and that M. D'Erlach, the Bailiff of Lausanne, whom he regarded as the Providence of the Pays de Vaud, and with whom the French emigrants had found more than protection, had yielded to his representations, and demanded from the Count d'Artois the command of the guards.

It may be observed, that the actions of individuals ought not to be imputed to the Government, and that M. Mallet du Pan and M. D'Erlach, might have formed plans and conspiracies against France, which the Government, had it discovered, would have disavowed and reprobated. To this observation it may be rejoined, that although these plots and conspiracies were matters of the most public notoriety, they were never

omitted no occasion of testifying their hostile dispositions towards the French, but were guilty of various infractions of their neutrality. When the manifesto of the coalition, say they, was answered by the proclamation of the existence of the Republic, not only were divers individuals ordered to quit the Swiss territory, but the French ambassador was compelled to leave Soleure, and submit to be tolerated at Baden. When Denmark, Sweden, and even Prussia, and Spain, had acknowledged the French Republic, the patricians of those Cantons were steadfast in their loyalty to what was called *external France*, its political and ecclesiastical never disavowed on the part of the Government of Berne; and therefore to prevent such *providences*, as M. D'Erlach, and M. Mallet du Pan, from acting on the *defensive*, and superintending affairs at Paris, would have justified the interposition of the French, admitting that such interposition had ever been intended.

fiastical hierarchy, and its king; and the existence of such a Republic was considered as a capital heresy, till the victorious arguments of Moreau and Buonaparte removed these fondly cherished scruples.

The arrest of the ambassador Semonville, on the territory of the Grisons, by the Austrians, was a manifest violation of the neutrality, which the French at that time had not the means of resenting. This infraction had been preceded by another, when, on the expulsion of the Piedmontese troops from Savoy, a Swiss regiment effected its escape across the lake, and returned to join the main army in the valley of Aoste, through the territory of Berne, and the Vallais, without any punishment being inflicted on the commanders, or the Bailiffs resident in that territory. Encouraged by impunity,

nity, these allies suffered a bolder stroke to be attempted, when the defection of Dumourier, in 1793, had opened the northern frontier to the enemy, and the Republic was torn on every side by internal war and divisions, it was suggested that the invasion of Savoy, where the French army was considerably weakened, would, independently of the recovery of the territory, operate a powerful diversion, and renew the theatre of war in that part of France,

The plan of forcing the defiles of Mount Cenis, and the post of St. Bernard, by two strong columns, which should penetrate into the Maurienne, and the Tarentaise, and form their junction towards Mont-Melian and Chamberry, was concerted with the march of a third column from the valley of Aoste to that of Faufigny, which would render the

defence of those defiles more difficult for the French, and might even force them to abandon their position. Two obstacles seemed to impede this plan; a formidable Glacier, and the Swiss neutrality; both to all appearance insurmountable: for if the Glacier could not be scaled, there was no means of reaching the French but across the neutral territory.—The Glacier was inflexible in its neutrality, but the King of Sardinia it appears, had discovered the dissolving temperature of the allies of France, and the Piedmontese pilgrims, with their mules loaded with arms, baggage and ammunition, shook the snows off their feet on the Swiss side of the great St. Bernard, and ascending by the Col de Balme, the last boundary of the territory of the Vallais, resumed the dress of the foldier, and aided by the hunters of the country, surprised the French in the valley of Fausigny,

figny, penetrated to Bonneville, within five leagues of Geneva, and in three days were in the rear of the Republican army, before the French had any knowledge of the expedition. The success of this plan would have been complete, and the French magazines would have been necessarily taken, had the enterprise been supported by reinforcements of cavalry to keep up the insurrection which had previously been fomented in Savoy.

The want of address in the Sardinian troops, and the valour of the French, forced these pilgrims to a second journey across the Swiss territory, over St. Bernard, which retreat was effected with the same open violation of neutrality, without opposition from the Swiss, or pursuit by the French, although invited by the people of the lower Vallais, to seize that opportunity of helping them

to shake off their yoke, for which attempt ten of the insurgents had been lately hanged, and seven sent to the gallies.—

As that part of the Swiss territory, in which these events took place, belonged to the government of the Vallais, the patricians of that district took upon themselves the whole merit of the enterprize, in which the government of Berne, as it succeeded so ill, were not solicitous to claim their share,

It is true that the Swiss soldiers who were employed to aid this expedition, struck with the dishonour of the action, revolted against their commander, and made complaints, which were prudently hushed; it is true also that this officer so far incurred the animadversion of his government as to provoke a sentence against him, which it is said, from its mildness, proved their assent and approbation,

bation. Mr. D'Erlach, the principal in this project, received a box set in diamonds from the King of Sardinia, and was soon after raised to the dignity of a Senator of Berne.

These are a few among the numerous charges brought by the discontented chiefs of the Pays de Vaud against the governments of Switzerland, particularly that of their own Canton, in order to lead the government of France to the examination how far such allies are worthy of the continuance of its friendship. These popular leaders insist, at the same time, that the Swiss nation has been guilty of no other offence against France than that of being passive and involuntary instruments in the hands of their masters; and that they have in general displayed a lively interest in the fate of France, and the success of the revolution.

Those

Those patriots, while they appear so solicitous to prompt the French to avenge their wrongs, do not forget what is wanting to remedy their own; and lest the French government should have any hesitation respecting the propriety of interposing in the internal concerns of independent countries, or should not seize the full force and meaning of these antiquated charters, various precedents are adduced of the interest taken by the patricians of Berne in settling disputes between governors and subjects in other states. Such was their interposition in favour of the French monarchy, against the patriots of Geneva; in favour of the patricians of Fribourg, against the inhabitants of the Canton; in favour of the governors of the upper Vallais, against their subjects; in favour of the bishop of Basil, against the people of the bishoprick; in favour of the King of Prussia, against Neufchatel;

Neufchatel ; in favour of the democrats of Uri, against the Val de Levantine ; and of the burghers of Zurich, against the people of the lake.

What reasons can the government of Berne produce why other powers should not exercise also the same right of interference with respect to their subjects ? especially when by written treaties those powers have become securities for the preservation of their rights ?

Such is the long list of transgressions against the privileges of equal freedom which these patriots of retentive memory have brought forward against the government of Berne, and such the remedies which they propose for their political evils. Whether the French Republic will accede to this invitation, and render the Pays de Vaud independent of Berne, is
a secret

a secret which the book of destiny will perhaps ere long unfold.

In the mean time, it is natural to conclude, that the principles of that mighty revolution, which have already diffused themselves over remote regions of the globe, cannot fail to expand in those countries which are placed immediately within their influence. Since the period of the French revolution, ages have flitted before our eyes, and we have risen suddenly, like the offspring of Deucalion, from infancy to manhood, not without indications it must be confessed, of the hardened origin whence we sprung. Like the traveller, who from the scorching plains, climbs the rocks that lead him to the regions of eternal snow, and finds that in the space of a few hours he has passed through every successive latitude, from burning heat to the confines

finer of the frozen pole, the journey of months; so the human mind, placed within the sphere of the French revolution, has bounded over the ruggedness of slow metaphysical researches, and reached at once, with an incredible effort, the highest probable attainments of political discovery.

CON-

CONCLUSION.

ALTHOUGH, considered under certain points of view, nothing can be more defective than the governments of Switzerland, in which there are no constitutions, and no criminal laws; where civil legislation is incomplete, inconstant, and complicated; where every thing is arbitrary; where liberty, of which so vain a boast has been made, is so little understood; where the absolute restraint put on the press, and the intolerance exercised with respect to religious opinions, have stifled every attempt to promote a more liberal education, and foster more benevolent and enlarged sentiments; it must be remarked, that the practice of these governments has happily not always corresponded with their theory. Sometimes,

times, when the spirit of despotism would have exercised its fury, the means of execution have been wanting. Although accustomed to the yoke, the people who bear arms in their hands, a privilege of no little value, have occasionally hinted to their governors that they must not make that yoke too heavy. The smallness of their towns, the social connection of the inhabitants, the union which exists between them and the inhabitants of the country, where no intrigue interrupts the harmony, have kept alive some sparks of public spirit sufficient to arrest the march or interrupt the progress of those governments towards absolute despotism, independent of other considerations arising from local or accidental circumstances, which have often determined them to moderation.

Hence we observe in Switzerland more cultivation, ease and prosperity, than we should see in arbitrary governments where theory is strengthened by practice. But it must be remembered that this general effect is no evidence of security to the individual. In a country where liberty is neither guarded by laws, nor by social institutions, there may exist a sort of public moderation which spares the great mass, but gives no positive protection.

The security of these governments has arisen from the experience that private and insulated injustice have caused no general murmur, and they have cherished, like other governments, the false principle, that because they are in motion, they shall therefore never cease to move. The French revolution has displayed the fallacy of this belief; but the

the great changes which have lately taken place in Italy, are said to have had a far more powerful influence on Switzerland, than all those by which they were preceded; since the revolution itself only overthrew an absolute monarchy, which admitted of few points of comparison with the constitutions of Switzerland; but the subversion of those aristocracies, which have always been represented as happy models of a part of the Swiss governments, have awakened new ideas in that country, of which the effects are already sensibly perceived. Should a spark from the blaze of French liberty fall on those combustible materials, it may kindle into a flame; and if it be the policy of the French Republic to give itself a moral as well as a geographical frontier, its friendly intercourse with Switzerland will probably mould the various governments of

that country into forms of nearer similitude to its own.

In the preceding sketch, sufficiently imperfect from the inability of the writer, many voluntary omissions will also be observed. I have said nothing of the Confederation which binds the Cantons of Switzerland together; of the barbarous policy so well known, and so often reprobated, of selling the lives of their citizens to foreign powers; and have entered into no detailed history of its governments, because I wished carefully to avoid telling what others have told better.

With sincere reluctance I bade Switzerland farewell. Who can leave such a country without regret? If we find its governments defective, or its societies dull, there is always a resource against every

every feeling of dislike, or of weariness, in the meditation of that glorious scenery, the view of which renders the mind insensible to human evils, by lifting it beyond their reach. Switzerland has opened to me a new world of ideas; its landscapes are indelibly impressed upon my memory; whenever the delightful images of nature present themselves to my imagination, I find that I have been thinking only of Switzerland; and whenever I amuse myself in that sort of visionary architecture, called castle-building, my chateau is always seated at the foot of an Alpine hill, a torrent stream rolls invisibly past the dwelling, and an enormous glacier lifts its snows in the neighbourhood.

In that memorable winter, which turned the waters of Holland into dry ground, we passed through Franche Comté, on our way to Paris; not without

considerable danger from the wolves, which the severity of the frost had brought down from the Jura into the plains, and impelled to attack the unguarded traveller.

“ Cruel as death, and hungry as the grave,

“ Burning for blood ! bony, and gaunt, and grim !”

A general thaw which took place the night we reached Besançon, and rendered the roads for some days impassable, detained us agreeably with the accomplished and hospitable family of one of my fellow travellers.

I returned to Paris, and to my family, with feelings how different from those I had felt on my departure ! I had now only scenes of gratulation to witness, and only tears of luxury to shed !

APPENDIX.

*Observations on the Glacieres, and the Glaciers *, by M. Ramond.*

TWENTY ages since, when Rome, for the first time, cast a look towards those unknown regions, whence issued the barbarous nations who were most the objects of her dread, she beheld, with astonishment, a chain of summits, bolder than Caucasus, eternally covered with the snows of winter. The civilized world for a while, believed that Italy was joined by

* The Glacieres are central mountains, on which the snow first collects itself; the name of Glaciers is given to those ramifications of ice which branch from that centre.

the Alps to the frozen pole of the North*.

Whilst the Romans were contemplating these Mountains, Hannibal scaled them. He found, as he had conjectured, that the whole of their surface was not covered with snows, and was led by their savage, but free inhabitants, across their wild pasturages, hidden amidst masses of rocks, and the Romans discovered that they were not invincible.

It is not yet precisely determined over what parts of the mountains the Carthaginians passed; nor can we form any just idea of the state of the Alps at the time of their passage, since we know not to what places we ought to apply the descriptions given by the historians who

* See Polybius, Book II.

have

have transmitted to us the account of this astonishing expedition. All that we can conclude from what they have related, is, that the Alps had at that time reached their period of old age; hills had filled up vallies; regular slopes had become abrupt precipices; vast masses rent from their sides, indicated their decay, and the regions of ice which Hannibal crossed, were no doubt the conquests made by the higher glaciers over the territory beneath. This is all that history records, but in what annals shall we trace the youth of these eldest daughters of the earth? To what remote period shall we revert, to discover the infancy of what for so many centuries has passed the boundaries of old age? If a frail machine, the work of an instant, which moves, which feels, which suffers, which lives, which with all its force and energies hastens to decay; if man counts by years, by what numbers or lapses of time shall those pas-

five insensible masses be computed, which are formed to resist, like the globe of which they are a part, that desolation which changes, without intermission, the beautiful scenery of its external form ?

Let us then no longer regret the loss of facts which historians have omitted to mention ; what information should we gain from annals of such recent date ? What are such points of comparison, at the distance only of a few ages from each other ? But there is another history, in which the records of nations occupies but an imperceptible space, the history of nature. The mind of genius, which can read its characters, bounds, at one step, over the limits of our short and dubious page, and leaving at a remote distance both nations, and their earliest convulsions, plunges into antiquity far beyond their ken ; discovers its periods, and fixes the epochas

epochas of its revolutions. From the shores of the sea he departs ; there he collects those facts which are most recent ; he marks the yesterday of nature ; for nations in his sight are but the beings of the day. He then approaches the hills which rise up from the shores, those which the waters last formed when they finally withdrew from the land. Those are long parallel, and but little elevated lines, the work of the waters in their slow retreat, for when the ocean left them behind, it had lost its primitive fury, tending with less impetuosity towards the hollow which it now fills.

As he advances, the mountains raise their heads, and branch off in different chains, the various directions of which leave traces of the struggles of the waters. Here, broad and deep vallies mark the currents ; a raging sea has washed the cliffs and precipices

cipices above. Vast banks of shells and vegetable productions, are proofs of the long abode which the water has made, and their petrification bears testimony to the number of years which have elapsed since the sea has left them.

In a loftier region, every object assumes a bolder shape; every thing indicates more violent convulsions, discovers mightier operations, and leads us back to antiquity still more remote. Every step of elevation adds a century to the age of the mountains, and when the observer arrives at length a thousand fathoms above the real level of the seas, he is at the greatest height where traces of their abode are found, and where the most distant period of their known labours is discoverable*.

Nevertheless

* Late discoveries, made by M. Ramond, in the Pyrenees, have led him to conclude, that the waters
have

Nevertheless he is far from having reached the highest points which bristle over the have obtained a loftier height than he has here mentioned. I have lately received a letter from him on the subject of these discoveries, of which the following is an extract:

“ Je poursuis maintenant ces observations, et si la
“ lecture de celles que j’ai publiées, vous inspire de
“ l’interet pour les montagnes que j’habite aujour
“ d’huy, vous ne ferez pas fâchée d’apprendre que
“ cette année, je suis parvenue à la partie moyenne du
“ Montperdu, que l’on peut regarder comme le Mont-
“ blanc, des Pyrénées, et que personne encore n’avait
“ tenté d’approcher, là j’ai trouvé des glaciers qui ne
“ le cedent guères à ce que les Alpes ont de plus mag-
“ nifique en ce genre. Mais ce que les Alpes ne vous
“ ont point montré ; ce qu’elles ne montreront proba-
“ blement, à aucun observateur, ce sont les formes
“ étranges, l’aspect épouvantable des montagnes cal-
“ caires secondaires portées à une telle hauteur ; ce sont
“ les débris du regne organique gisans sur leur crimes ; ce
“ sont les ossemens des quadrupedes terrestres mêlés
“ aux coquilles des testaces, et aux loges des Zoophytes,
“ c’est le cimetiere des antédiluviens à quinze ou dix
“ huit cens toises au dessus du niveau actuel de la
“ mer. ”

globe.

globe. From the bosom of the mountains which he has just scaled, rises a formidable chain of naked rocks, that seem to have held perpetual dominion over the shoreless seas which rolled around the globe. We should seek in vain for comparisons, and epochas between them, and those masses of mountains, which the sea has formed; the annals of nature here leave a vast chasm; there is nothing common in their respective operations; the spoils of the animal and vegetable kingdom, which the secondary mountains contain, prove that our earth was then the theatre of life; but who has witnessed the birth of the primitive mountains, which conceal nothing but the simplest aggregations of the mineral kingdom? when our planet brought them forth, it was nothing but a dry solitude.

Such

Such is the antiquity of these mountains. Their origin is co-eval with the infancy of the globe, and must be left to the same conjectures. If we believe in the hypothesis of that conflagration of the earth, which kept it so long in a state of liquefaction, we may suppose them to have been formed from the unequal connection of its parts, and the tumefactions arising from its first cooling*. If, on the contrary, we suppose that the seas were able to maintain themselves for a series of ages, at more than double the height which has been commonly granted, we may believe that their waters, as yet void of inhabitants, rolled on a purely mineral mud, and formed this enormous mass of simple rocks †.

But

* M. Buffon's System.

† Such is the opinion of Mr. Saussure, in his excellent work on the Alps. He is the first who has discovered,

But of what importance to us are these different systems? The existence of the primordial mountains, interests us no farther than from the epocha when they proceeded from the bosom of the waters, surrounded with their investiture of secondary mountains, softening their forms, smoothing their asperities, and serving as a basis to vegetation, whilst they interchain, and stretch themselves in every direction over the drained continent, dividing into different regions its uniform extent, and destroying that level by which it would be exposed to new deluges, and condemned to eternal sterility. Every

covered, or thinks he has discovered, regular strata, in the primitive mountains; which consequently cannot be the work of a revolution. These strata are not horizontal, but, on the contrary, almost perpendicular. We may compare them to leaves piled against each other, so that every point of the high Alps, could be well represented by an artichoke.

thing

thing in these primitive chains is regular, every thing bears the impression of the first designs of nature. Their gentle, and fruitful declivities offer all the gradations of vegetation without confusion, answering, with exactness, to the different strata of the atmosphere, and passing, from the lavish fertility of the plains, to the scanty indigence of the lofty heights. The vegetable kingdom is terminated by moss; every thing beyond is absolute barrenness.

Although this barrier chain of primitive rocks, which proudly dominate over the habitable globe, as they rose above the deluge by which it was covered, seems to have escaped the common laws of nature, it is only to wear her yoke in another form. The summits of this vast chain sustain an immense, and eternal load of snows; and whilst their foundations, like

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those of the inferior mountains, augment the surface of the earth, whilst they water it with pure streams, divide the lower stratum of the atmosphere into limited portions, spread the clouds, and sever and direct the winds, which, without so powerful an obstacle, would rush round the globe in uniform direction with destructive impetuosity; they keep up an immense store-house of waters, the waste of which is always proportioned to the warmth of the summer, and which, far from drying up by its scorching heat, would have power to extinguish the conflagration of an hemisphere.

But what is the cause of the cold which reigns over these lofty heights? By what caprice has nature accumulated, in the abode of eternal serenity, those laboratories of ice, which ought to hold their place only amidst the regions of fogs, and in the dismal twilight of the polar world?

Why

Why do solitude and death divide the dominion of those regions, which the planet that gives life to all, enlightens with its purest rays?

Some who attribute to the earth an *absolute* heat, the remains of its conflagration, suppose that the mountains, from being insulated masses distant from the central focus, are subject to a greater loss of internal fire*, others considering the reflection

* In his note on Springs, Doctor Darwin informs us, "that the primary cause, why the summits of mountains are much colder than the plains is, their being in a manner insulated, or cut off from the common heat of the earth, which is always forty-eight degrees, and perpetually counteracts the effects of external cold beneath that degree." In his note on the Glaciers, he observes, that "the common heat of the interior parts of the earth being always forty-eight degrees, both in winter and summer, the snow which lies in contact with it is always in a thawing state; hence in ice-houses the external parts of

tion and concentration of the rays of the sun as the sole cause of the heat of the plains, think that the solitary state of the mountains is sufficient to account for the cold which freezes their summits. A few there are who reject both these systems without

“the collection of ice is perpetually thawing, so that
“it is necessary to lay up many tons for the preservation of one ton; hence, in Italy, considerable
“rivers have their source from beneath the eternal
“glaciers, or mountains of snow and ice.”—This philosophic poet is so delighted in roving with his
“Nymphs of Primeval Fire,” that he scarcely deigns to cast a glance on the no less interesting divinities of the Glaciers. Had he visited the sublime scenery which they inhabit, he would not only have been enchanted with his icy rambles, and elevated us with his eagle song, but he would have made us understand, more clearly, how, since the summits of the higher Alps are insulated, and cut off from the action of the central fire, it could melt, by its heat, the eternal glaciers into considerable rivers.

The modest, snow-mantled nymphs are not only jealous of the Doctor's neglect, but piqued at his calumnies ;

without hesitation, and assure us that the simple rarefaction of air is sufficient to produce this effect; that as no fluid can suffer
lumnies; their complaints still hang on my recollection:

While o'er the Alpine cliff, I musing stray'd,
And gaz'd on Nature, in her charms severe,
The last soft beam of parting day, displayed
The Glacier-Goddeſs, on her chryſtal ſphere.

Her ſledgy-car, with ſparkling froſt-work bright,
O'er the pellucid ice her ſnow-birds drew,
And on her fleecy robe refracted light
The full-blown roſe's vermeil colours threw.

Slow as ſhe graceful lifts her miſty veil,
Indignant grief, her mournful glance expreſt,
And thus, in ſalt'ring tones, the veſtal pale,
Breath'd the deep ſorrows of her beating breaſt.

“ Native of that green iſle, where Darwin waves
“ His magic wand o'er Nature's vernal reign,
“ Her airy eſſence, and her central caves,
“ Her fires electric, and her Nereid train,

suffer a degree of heat above its density,
 so the air, more distant from the surface of
 the earth, at the same time that it is less
 dense, is deprived of the mixture of those
 vapours

“ Go, tell him, stranger, had his muse explor’d
 “ My realms, new marvels had enchained her eye;
 “ Go, tell him, in my sunless fanes are stor’d
 “ Treasures no vulgar glance shall e’er descry.

“ Ye Nymphs of Fire! around your glowing brows
 “ What lavish wreathes your Poet loves to twine?
 “ Know, partial bard! philosophy allows
 “ That one bright chaplet might belong to mine!

“ Ah, why a vestal to a ‘ fiend’* transform,
 “ Bid to my steeps thy glitt’ring bands repair,
 “ Direct with cruel aim, their arrowy storm,
 “ And chain a Goddess to the ‘ northern bear?’

“ Stay thy rash steps! my potent hand impels
 “ The rushing Avalanche to gulphs below!
 “ I can transfix thee numb’d, in icy cells,
 “ Or shroud thee in unfathom’d folds of snow!

* Botanic Garden, Canto 1st. V. 442.

“ Come

vapours of different natures, which mix,
ferment, dissolve, and become regenerated

“ Come not in hostile garb!—with softer art,

“ With dearer power, my yielding spirit seize,

“ Wake thy rich lyre, and melt my gelid heart

“ With incense sweeter than the western breeze.

“ Thy muse shall mount my Lammer-Geyer's wing,

“ Pass o'er my untrod heights, with daring course,

“ While the cold Genii of each new-born spring

“ For thee unlock the rivers viewless source.

“ For thee my sylphs, with tender care, shall mark

“ The printless pathway of the secret rills,

“ And light with lambent ray, the caverns dark

“ Where chemic nature mystic wealth distills.

“ For thee my sylphs in distant lands shall trace,

“ Where, far diffused, my vivifying powers

“ Awake, ungrateful bard, in blushing grace,

“ To life and love, awake thy wedded flowers.

“ For thee—but ah, my pensive form he flies,

“ For nymphs of golden locks, and florid hue!

“ No charms have snow-white tints, or azure eyes,”

She wept, and folded in a cloud, withdrew.

in the lower region of the atmosphere, and ought therefore to be considered as acting very powerfully on its temperature*,

Whatever, in fine, may be the various systems framed to explain these phenomena, I think we ought to look on that as the most probable, which establishes the most uniform and constant cause. Nothing indeed is more regular than the law of nature; and the law which separates the living world from the region of snow, is

* The opinion which I have just given, and on which I shall endeavour to comment, is that of M. de Luc. He has thrown it into the last pages of his great work, without distinctly explaining the foundation on which it rests; and though he affirms, that he can adopt no other system, after having made acquaintance with mountains, I own that it is less from my own experience, than the confidence that I have in that of M. de Luc, that I should adhere to this system.

indicated

indicated in all latitudes, by an imaginary surface, which is 2400 fathoms higher than the level of the sea above the equator, and which gradually approaching the earth, cuts the real surface near the eightieth degree of latitude.

If we apply this rule to the Alps, we shall find that, situated at a distance from the equator, which exceeds the half of its distance from the pole, they ought to meet the region of the snows at a height less than half that of the elevation of this region above the seas of the equator; whence it follows, that if the Alps had preserved their original form, we should have seen their chain covered with a stratum of snow, the lower borders of which would be fairly cut by the region of vegetation at 1100 fathoms above the level of the sea. The situation alone of some summits, relatively to the aspect
of

of the sun, and the activity which the rays of this luminary acquire from the reflection of certain surfaces on their neighbouring bodies, would interrupt by a small number of irregularities, the unvaried whiteness of this long ridge of frosts.

If this state has existed, it could only have existed for a very short period, since the forms are continually changing to settle into a regular shape. The mass of ice having begun to collect, must necessarily have augmented; and if there was but one year in which these summits harboured snows, part of which resisted the action of the sun, this must be the cause why, at that height, they should not melt in proportion to their accumulation. Now the mass and weight of these ices could not have increased, without detaching from the main body enormous portions, which, rolling down the slope of the mountains, have

have carried winter into warmer regions, where they have preserved themselves by means of their extent, against the heats of summer. Torrents have multiplied in proportion to the increase of the ice, and its approach towards the temperate zone; they have carried away the soil that covered the brow of the hills, and made way for obscure precipices, down which these ramifications of ice have been lengthened from the higher summits, and which are destined to lay waste the lower mountains, and reunite in a continued chain the glaciers, till then fettered on their insulated tops.

Such is the present state of the Alps. If it was possible to raise ourselves above their summits, and take in at one view the whole mass, the fertile parts would disappear before those which are uninhabitable. Two principal seas of ice, bordering

on each other, would at first fix our attention, the one to the north east, and the other to the south west. In the first we should perceive the mountains linked together from St. Gothard, and the Grimfel, on to the Shreek-horn, like islands half deluged; on the other side, we should distinguish, under an uniform livery, the formidable range of those summits which raise themselves from St. Bernard, and Mount-Velan, on to Mount Blanc. From those two seas we should see a multitude of arms branch off, which by meeting again, mingling together and uniting in different directions, bind the great masses to those which are of less magnitude, and invade every territory which borders on these regions of frost.

In this uniformity of whiteness, we should remark a few points of a different colour, and which enchased in the ice, seem

seem to have kept their summits free; these summits, without doubt, were heretofore covered; but their skeleton becoming in course of time incapable of retaining its cloathing, nature relieved their old age from the common servitude. A few black spots would indicate the places of cultivation and pasturage; but we should seek in vain for those imperceptible interstices through which men have made passages; and the Valais, the greatest interval which the ice has left, would appear nothing more than a narrow ribband, silvered by the Rhone.

If we look nearer, and observe its partial effects, this deluge of ice appears still more formidable. We see it swallowing up in succession these vast wrecks of every age, each portion of which bears evidence of the ravages of a century. Stretched out like the veil of oblivion
over

over these records of nature, it threatens with destruction every vestige which time has left in its passage. Into whatever valley I penetrate, I see myself furrounded by ice; it menaces every communication; the most fruitful pasturages are threatened with its invasions; and the shepherds, hemmed in between the spaces which remain, point out to us, with sighs, those which have been subdued. Like torrents, if it had their rapidity and inconstancy; or lavas, if it did not bring in its train all the horrors of an eternal winter, the ice follows every declivity, accumulates in every depth, and presents itself like an immense volume, the descent of which is determined by its weight. The inhabitant of the plain beholds with astonishment the invader protruding amidst his harvests, bid defiance even to the sun by which they are ripened; the shepherd, seeking refuge at the
foot

foot of precipices, perceives it with terror, mounting the tops of the steep which separated him from it, and deluging his abode with torrents and avalanches.

We must allow, however melancholy be the fact, that the ice is gaining on the whole surface of the high Alps, and is tending to insulate the more temperate vallies which they inclose. I will not say that their increase is any proof of the refrigeration of the globe; for the Glaciers have in general gone far beyond the colder region which has produced them, and subsist by means of their extent in a warmer zone; but the situation itself of these Glaciers, in places which could not have given them birth, is sufficient to prove the extension of their original mafs*. Those therefore who have gathered

* When we attribute to the increase alone of the upper regions of snow, the extension of which is observed

thered ripe fruits at the foot of the Glacier of Grindelwald, who with one hand have touched that of Montanvert, and with the other the corn ready for the sickle, may have supposed that the country of fruits is that of ice, and that these masses have not descended from the region above. Besides, what system, or what particular observations, shall we oppose to attested facts and uniform traditions?—

We must have had but little knowledge of these masses of ice, and been less conversant with the shepherds who dwell in

served in the lower Glaciers, and regard the system of the refrigeration of the earth as ill fitted to explain the abode of these masses in a temperate region, I am far from imagining that this manner of considering an insulated fact is in contradiction to the most magnificent theory of the world which genius has ever produced. I think only that many phenomena relative to the Glaciers and their increase, may be explained without having recourse to that theory.

their

their terrific neighbourhood, not to know how many Glaciers bear the name of the pasturages, which they have recently invaded *; how many passages were open, within a century, which are now for ever closed †; all these places are known; the registers of communities and of families have preserved the memorial of these public calamities, and of the monuments by which they are attested ‡.

* The Glaciers of Rosenlaur, which are of the number of two at least in the centre of Berne, the Blumliss Gletscher, in the same Canton, and many others in the Valais, and the Faucigny, &c.

† That of Letchsberg, between the Canton of Berne and the Valais; that of Montanvert, and of Bonhomme, in the valley of Aost; that of Grindelwald, of which Mr. Cox himself speaks.

‡ In the parish of Grindelwald is seen the steeple of a hermitage situated heretofore in the passage which communicated with the Valais, but which the ice has now filled up.

And if to so much evidence it was necessary to add an higher authority in a case of this nature than any others which have hitherto been cited, I should name the illustrious Haller, the Pliny of Switzerland; this learned man, then fourscore years of age, has affirmed to me, that in his early youth he had seen from Berne, mountains stript of their snows during the greater part of the summer, which are now constantly covered*. It would

* M. de Haller, in 1777, has given this opinion on the subject in a preface which he composed for M. Wagner, the Editor of the finest collection extant, of Views in Switzerland. To the observation which I here just mentioned on the faith of this great man, I shall add another of the same kind, and which seems to be decisive. Alsace, placed, with respect to the Alps, in the same direction as the city of Berne, sees them also terminating the horizon to the south. The ancient inhabitants of this province, who appear not to have known the name of these mountains, have given them one descriptive of their appearance, that of Hohe-Blauen—

would be a strange abuse of a few particular exceptions to oppose the immobility of the low Glaciers to these facts. For many ages, it is true, that some of these masses have not passed certain limits; and their insensible augmentations having always been followed by proportional diminutions, the extremes of these variations have been constantly restrained within a very narrow space. Such is the Glacier of *Montanvert*, and *Blauen*—the High Blues; it is by this name of *Blue Mountains* that the distant chain is called which bounds the sight on the side of the Pacific Ocean and the Streights of Anian, in the continent of North America. This denomination of *High Blues*, which is still found in the perspective charts of Merian, is now fallen into disuse, because it is no longer suitable to masses of splendid whiteness, neatly bordered with the azure of the sky, and whose present appearance resembles those thick clouds which we see on a summer day skirting the horizon.

those of *Grindelwald* and *Furca* *. But who is there that does not conceive that ramifications fallen many hundred fathom below their native region, amidst vallies, where, from the heat of the sun reflected in every direction, they sustain a loss which the upper ice, seconded by the cold of winter can scarcely repair? Who does not conceive, I say, that these ramifications have reached the end of their career, and have attained the boundary towards which all the other Glaciers tend, with more or less celerity, more or less success. To suppose, therefore, that the other masses are subject to the vicissitudes of these lower Glaciers,

* With respect to the Glacier of *Grindelwald*, its state of rest cannot be carried back to a very distant period, since the remembrance of the passage which it has filled up, and of the hermitage, with its steeple, still appearing, is still preserved.

is to confound every idea. These last, the inhabitants of our plains, and naturalized in those variable regions, increase or decrease according to the capricious circumstances which regulate every thing in the lower world. But in the higher regions, on the contrary, there is scarcely any difference of seasons, few circumstances and few accidents, the laws are simple, the tendency is fixed, and the increase depends invariably on the same cause which has preserved the snows of the first winter, in spite of the heats of the first summer*.

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* When at these elevations the relation of the winter cold to the heats of summer has been found such, that, at the end of a year, the sum of snow fallen has somewhat exceeded that of the snow melted, the layer of snow which has resisted, could not but augment, because each year has covered it again with a new stratum. The proportion of the accumulation ought also to be an increasing ratio, because the cold

The influence which the accumulation of the Glaciers of the high region has on the lower Glaciers, is seen in the progressive march of the latter. It is easy to conceive the cause; a mass which weighs on an inclined plane, has a necessary tendency to descend; and this tendency is favoured in the Glaciers by the shock of torrents, which roll under their cavities, by the humidity which their mass communicates to the soil which supports them; and finally by that innumerable multitude of hollows which undermine

which reigns at the summit of these mountains has necessarily augmented in the ratio of the annual thickness of the icy covering; so that the snow of the hundredth winter, supported by a soil already ice, has resisted with much more efficacy the heats of the following summer, than did those which the first winter had thrown over a country till then naked, and subject only to the natural cold of the aerial zone by which it is surrounded.

their

their lower part, the effect of which is the diminution of the friction by diminishing the extent of the surfaces. It is thus that the increase, which in reality takes place only on the heights, feeds the ramifications, which being situated in the temperate regions, lose much without gaining, and also gradually augments those Glaciers that have not yet passed beyond the icy band of mountains, which they one day will pass, to desolate warmer countries. It is at Mareme, or Moraine, to that mass of fragments of rocks which bounds the foot of the Glaciers, that we are indebted for the discovery of their progress. It was observed that this ridge was composed chiefly of pieces of granite, although the rocks around the Glacier were all calcareous, and it was easily to be suspected that it must have been from the place of its origin that it has slowly transported these

wrecks: of this circumstance the conviction was increased, when, on annually comparing the situation of its transversal crevices with the bordering rocks, it is found that they imperceptibly advanced towards its extremity, and that a mark fixed above one of these crevices, had in a short time overrun a considerable space*.

This

* It is in the Glaciers of Faucigny that these observations have been made, where firs, stuck in the crevices of the ice, have served as points of comparison. One of the most decisive experiments of this kind was made by M. Hennin, then French Minister at Geneva. It appears from all those that have hitherto been made, that the progress of the ice is about fourteen feet every year. This progress is enormous; and it is easy to perceive that a tendency so decisive would be productive of the most terrible effects, if the elevation was every where the same, and if different causes did not unite to counteract it; but it is not possible for this law to be universal; it must vary according to the descent and the direction of the valleys

This mode of increasing and multiplying is common to all the Glaciers. There
are

lies of ice; and lastly, according to the pressure of the upper masses, and the direction of that pressure. Besides, the temperature of the region of the Glaciers modifies in some measure their progress; the soil more or less moistened by the melting of the ice, favours more or less its descent; so that the lower ramifications, loaded with the enormous weight of the snows of the higher region; situated in vallies, the descent of which being long and steep, and undermined by the torrents which collect beneath their cavities, must proceed much more rapidly than those which inhabit the icy region; and this increase of rapidity, owing to their situation, is at the same time the means which nature has employed to repair the rapid losses to which they are subjected by their position, whilst the slowness of the progress of the upper Glaciers prevents the prodigious increase which that position would admit. By these means, the mass of the high region, finding its extension more circumscribed on the side of the higher vallies, throws itself chiefly towards the lower outlets, where its extremities are sometimes kept in a state of dissolution; so that the annual increase of the
snows,

are others that are merely accidental, or placed under peculiar circumstances.

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snows, however great, produces but an imperceptible increase in the Glaciers, and is sometimes annihilated by the caprices of the seasons.

Dr. Darwin, alarmed by the increase of the ice at the northern pole, and on the Swiss mountains, has pointed out an ingenious and beneficent mode of restoring the equilibrium of heat and cold, by employing the fleets of Europe, now busied in devastation, in the more innocent occupation of navigating ice islands from the neighbourhood of the pole, to cool the feverish climates of the track of the sun. As the continental armies are about to cease their work of death, the Doctor might also have proposed their being engaged in the removal of the Glaciers of St. Gothard, or Mont Blanc, had not M. Ramond, in his late observations on the Pyrenees, relieved us from any apprehension on account of the threatened progressive refrigeration of the globe from the increase of the ice on the Glaciers. After having descanted on the causes of the variety, the breadth, and elevation of the icy zone on the Alps, and the Pyrenees, and which is only three hundred fathom on the latter, while

There are sometimes masses which are situated in valleys extremely warm, and receive

while it occupies a space of thirteen hundred fathom on the former; (a wonderful difference, he adds, if we reflect that the most elevated summits of these mountains differ only six hundred fathom in their height, and only three degrees and a half in their latitude.) M. Ramond draws the following inductions, that from the height which the peaks of a chain of mountains attain, from its mean latitude, and the extent of its icy zone, two points being given, a third may be concluded; and that if in a known chain from a given mountain, two of these circumstances are ascertained, its height, the extent of its snows, or ice, and the place which it holds in the links of the chain, the third is a necessary consequence.

M. Ramond, after having established these rules, endeavours to prove that the Glaciers of the Alps, like those of the Pyrenees, are not susceptible of any durable increase beneath the icy zone. Let the Glacier roll its waves towards every outlet—vain menace!—it is like the streamlet which rushes headlong from the lofty precipice, and is lost in air. A
carpet

receive every year a reinforcement of auxiliary snow by the periodical fall of an avalanche, which forms itself regularly above them; some there are which left to their own weight on a very steep descent, have suddenly rushed on to the plains, above which they hung, and of which they have taken perpetual possession. New Glaciers are sometimes formed in hollows, that are less exposed to the sun, where the snow of winter is preserved by the mass which the heat carpet of flowers forms a boundary to the sea of ice which it cannot pass; the harvest of the husbandman waves in safety on its banks, and the shepherd's hut need not fear its vicinity. The fury of the ocean is not more certainly restrained by the gently sloping beach, where the foaming waters, that shake the rocks, and dash against them like the slight canoe of the Indian, the stately vessel loaded with legions and their thunder, die away on the lightly-shifting sands, where they scarcely move the shell which they have thrown.

of summer loofens from the mountains above. It is this last phænomenon which the inhabitants of the Alps refer to when they advance it as an axiom, that a Glacier fprings up wherever a portion of fnow, however fmall, has remained for the fpace of a year.

The regular fteps which I have juft traced, the flow progrefs which draws imperceptibly to the foot of the Alps, the fnow which their fummits have collected, is at once the origin of the Glaciers, and the caufe of their duration. If the fnows invariably remained in their native region, and received no other increafe than was fufficient to repair the lofs occafioned by evaporation, Switzerland would have no ice, and would no longer furnifh to the four feas which furround Europe, the fineft rivers of this part of the world. If, on the contrary, thefe

these same snows fell suddenly into the lower vallies, before they had taken the consistence which they receive in the middle region, by the succession of frost and thaw, their dissolution would be as rapid as their fall, and they would soon disappear with the furious torrents they would have formed. It is not thus that nature acts. She has destined the most elevated country of Europe to be the waterer of its surface; but this watering, in order to prove a benefit, must be regular. The snows which accumulate in these lofty regions ought to be slow and uniform in melting. In order to melt, they must descend into a lower region of the atmosphere; to melt slowly, they must be in great masses, and under a very solid form; they must take the consistence of the hardest ice. Let us follow their singular transformation in its details.

The

The highest mountains, those which are properly known under the name of *Glacieres*, are absolutely inaccessible; but the experienced beholder distinguishes in the brilliant whiteness of their covering, that dazzling which is the characteristic of snow. In reality, nothing falls from the clouds but snow, and that which adheres to these elevated points, never having undergone a real thaw, must necessarily remain in this form, or be covered only with a slight varnish of imperfect ice, caused by the agglutination of the parts of the surface most exposed to the sun. It is this dazzling incrustation which has deceived many observers, with respect to the nature of the clothing of these mountains. All the parts of this clothing very easily separate from each other, and fall often into icy dust at the bottom of the neighbouring and surrounding mountains. This is the first state of
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the upper snows, and the first step which they take towards the inferior vallies.

Directly beneath these mountains, and in that elevated hollow, which receives at the same time their spoils, and the snows of the atmosphere, the temperature is less icy, the sun has some influence, and a few days of thaw suspend the rigours of winter; we then find the snow more condensed, more adhesive; it keeps from sinking, but the trace of the foot is preserved. This is the immense reservoir of the Glaciers. An infinity of branches escape in every direction along the steep vallies towards the plain. Their snows elaborated in the hollow above, and become solid, are fitted to bear the trial which they undergo in a more temperate region. The second step is accomplished.

In

In this new abode, the snows are exposed to longer thaws, but the frosts are scarcely less sharp; their masses are more thoroughly penetrated with the water which is produced by the dissolution of some of its parts; but when it is duly moistened, the cold seizes, and transforms it into a kind of half ice, which already seems transparent; this is the origin of the Glaciers.

The work is not yet finished, but it goes on rapidly to perfection. Every fathom of descent towards the lower region gives the ice a greater degree of hardness and transparency, and the Glacier, undergoing a thorough transformation preserves nothing that bears a resemblance of its original.

If, in the mean time, we cast an attentive look over the part where the trans-

formation is most perfect, namely, at the foot of the Glacier, we shall perceive that that is not absolutely homogeneous, but composed of two very different kinds of ice. That which forms the lower stratum being more compact and more transparent, is of an hardness surpassing that of our most perfect ice; it is also like it in other respects, terminated by plane surfaces; but that which forms itself into irregular rocks, the outward surface of which is rugged, being more white and light, as well as less solid, is easily divided into globular fragments, which are themselves only an aggregation of similar parts. The lower bed of ice is therefore the produce of water, regularly crystallized, whilst the other is nothing more than snow, the particles of which are agglutinated by the succession of thaws and frosts. This is, I believe, the cause of that phenomenon.

The

The snow, as it falls to the ground, is a mass of little regular crystals, in the form of very light and scooped out stars, the six rays of which being flat, pointed, and distant sixty degrees from each other, present the form of the crystallization of water. Let us imagine the effect which the heat must necessarily have on their accumulated flakes, we shall find that the most unconnected parts are those which yield the soonest, the points will drop off, a little spherical nucleus is all that remains of each star, and the whole mass will sink by the union of these globules. It is in this state that those snows are every where found which have undergone a first thaw; they then become less porous, and more transparent. But if this thaw be succeeded by frost, the little sphericle icicles cling together, and form an icy mass, which breaks at each sinuous interstice, which the elementary globules leave between them.

Such is the ice which composes the upper stratum of the Glaciers. The lower stratum is formed by the congelation of the waters, which have filtered through the snow; it takes the figure of perfect ice; its mass is a series of flat and uniformly inclined planes; it is hard, transparent, and breaks into sharp fragments*.

It is not, as is commonly believed, during the heats of summer, that these transformations take place; they are only undergoing

* Among these lower strata of ice, some parts are found of a deeper blue, much harder, heavier, and more indissoluble, than the most solid ice we know of. These properties arise from their antiquity, and the continual succession of dissolution and congelation which they undergo. Their parts become gradually more connected; they have expelled or dissolved all the particles of heterogeneous air, which disturbed their transparency, or diminished their adhesion; remaining therefore unmixed with any foreign matter, they have acquired

dergoing preparation. The snow is saturated with water; but the cold of the night is not sufficiently piercing to finish the work; it penetrates but a little way; the thaw is but slightly restrained; it is the winter alone which fixes it, and freezes what the summer has dissolved. Thence it happens, that during the temperate season a prodigious quantity of water escapes congelation; makes its way on every side through the mass of snows; its weight determines it towards the extre-

acquired that blue colour which belongs to air and water, when they form a volume, and hold no other fluid in suspension. M. Plyffer has made several experiments on this ice which I have not yet repeated.— He asserts, that it retains its colour to its smallest fragments. He has also remarked its property of resisting heat. I have made the same observation, and have admired the wisdom of nature, which has given this ice hardness, and indissolubility, fitted to make it support the abode of the warm vallies into which it descends.

mities; there it finds either reservoirs, which distribute it into the bowels of mountains to feed the springs, or declivities down which it rushes, dragging along a part of the snow drowned in it, and forcing a channel to empty itself into the plains. In vain are these pervious snows afterwards changed into ice; they preserve the form which has been impressed on them; the torrent seizing on its bed, and endued with an impetuosity proportioned to the rapidity of its descent, acquires the power of overcoming the transitory obstacles which accident might bring in its way. The glacier, in its progress, is forced to preserve for it an outlet which it would otherwise find the means of opening for itself, or rather let me say, that the glacier is formed by its current; its descent is favoured by the shock, and the rapidity of its waters; the torrent traces out the places which it is to occupy, and

and becomes the pioneer that prepares deserts for its reception.

Whilst nature is making this external expenditure, to fertilize our plains burnt up by the heats of summer, she looks forward to winter to replenish her reservoirs ; it is in hollows deprived, to all appearance, of outlet, that she accumulates the waters, which a thousand unknown pipes convey into interior cavities, whence they issue under the form of springs, which not only have resisted the winter cold, but have often acquired a heat foreign to their nature, the cause of which is demonstrated by the numerous hot springs we find in Switzerland. The same subterraneous sources from which they flow, those semi-volcanoes kept up by the slow and gradual fermentation of the vast magazines of minerals heaped up in the bosom of the Alps, are the origin also

of those accidental cavities, which are dug under the glaciers already formed, and of that verdure which we are sometimes surprised to find in places which ought to be covered with eternal snows; lastly, we are indebted to them for a great number of rivulets, kept up by the melting of the ice during the sharpest cold of winter, and which seizing on the bed of the torrents, sweep their course, and keep their outlets free. It is to these receptacles of heat, and by the partial sinkings which they occasion in the mass of the glaciers, that we must attribute a part of the great crevices which cross them in every direction, and which receiving the waters of the upper surface, carry them into the lower canals. It is also to the vaults made by their hot exhalations under the glaciers, that we might attribute the formation of bridges of ice, interior lakes, and a thousand other accidents, which, because they are

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accidents,

accidents, can have no constant cause, and ought not therefore to be ranged in the class of phænomena arising from the heat peculiar to the earth. This heat is an uniform and universal cause, and therefore can have only uniform and universal effects.

If this heat acted only on the lower part of the glaciers, it would act always regularly, their mass would sink every where in the same proportion, the waters which should proceed from their melting would give equal moisture to all the countries they covered; they would run off indifferently from all parts of the ice which touch the ground, and would reunite only after their fall. There would be no partial and extraordinary cavities, no separate reservoirs; none of those privileged places which rid themselves of their snows, without owing it to the beam of the

the fun, or their relative position to the neighbouring heights.

The hollows which have been found at the feet of the glaciers, and which serve as outlets to the torrents, have been produced as evidences of the melting of the under strata of the snow; but as these hollows answer precisely to the deepest part of the vallies, occupied by the glacier, that is to say, at the very place where the waters, left to their own weight and fluidity, unite together, when no obstacle occurs to prevent their tendency, and being likewise only the mouth of a channel which pierces the glacier through its whole length, they prove nothing, except the little resistance which the drenched snows have made to the draining of the waters which proceeded from their thaw, at a period when the mass had not yet acquired its icy form. In fact, it is not,

not, in the bottom of those hollows, as some suppose, who have seen only the extremities of the glaciers, that the torrents take their rise. Both the *Lutschenis*, and the torrent that swells the Rhone, near its source, do not belong to the masses of ice in the *Grendelwald*, *Lauterbrunnen*, and the *Furca*; their sources are in the upper snows, but they owe to the channel which receives them, and which conveys them to the plains, after having for a long time concealed them from sight, those auxiliary waters which its numerous crevices bring them from all parts of the glacier; so that the increase of the torrent arises as much from the upper surface as from the lower part.—We might even conclude, that the produce of the external thaw is not inconsiderable, if we observe that the furrows, by which it is hollowed, as well as its bristled points, are the work of the currents which
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are formed in the first days of spring; and which would continue running, if the cavities, by giving way soon after, did not absorb them as they arise, and conduct them into the lower channel.

After having described the general forms which the glaciers owe to their origin, I shall not stop to paint the infinite varieties which distinguish them; they are as numerous as the places where they are situated, and the circumstances by which they are attended.

In this spot, a band of ice, adhering to a precipice, drops off in proportion as the sun communicates warmth to its supporter, and presents itself, seen sideways, like a transparent needle, so extremely elevated, that its equilibrium appears a miracle.— On another side, a mass of ice, on the edge of a precipice, leans like a penthouse
over

over the depth, and turns itself into a half circle. Sometimes this penthouse drops off from its weight, and leaves a perpendicular wall of ice, of terrific height.— Between mountains, at little distance from each other, the glacier is a narrow streight; further on, it is an immense sea, overlooked only by a few points, half swallowed up. In the upper regions, the sea is calm, and furrowed only by vast waves; if it escapes along a narrow valley, it is a furious torrent, where one wave follows rushing on another. Every thing has the semblance of motion and noise; but all around is stillness and peace.

I leave, without reluctance, particular descriptions of objects, and frigid details, to writers who make a point of explaining every thing; but I regret that I have not been able to bring back from this new world the power of painting to the imagination,

gination, as it was pictured before my eyes; to retrace the sentiments with which it inspired me, and the ideas to which it gave birth. Let no one judge of its solitudes by the solitudes of our plains. Here below, every thing lives, sensation pervades the whole. In the most distant retreat, in deserts where I do not find the footsteps of man, I find a family of birds, which is the emblem of our own; a republic of insects, which recalls the idea of our nations; their industry, their relations and antipathies. The waving of a tree, the shaking of a shrub, the rapid course, or murmuring flow of a rivulet, every thing brings me back to the sentiment of existence, by giving me the idea of motion, the most soothing of all ideas, because it is the most remote from annihilation. But how different the immense deserts of the Alps! One uniform carpet covers their icy labyrinths,

rinths, from the proudest summits to the most unfearchable abyffes; it is the livery of the eternal winters of the pole, a winding fheet which enwraps the expiring earth.

An eternal filence reigns over this fecluded region. If at remote diftances an avalanche falls amidft its precipices; if a rock rolls over its ice, the noife will be infulated; no living creature answers it by a cry of terror, no timid birds fly away affrighted; the winding labyrinths of thefe mountains, carpeted with fnow, receive, in filence, the found, which is repeated by no echo. Who, but the obferver of nature, would fufpect that this vaft tomb contains its fecret laboratory, and that like the careful monarch who, in the tranquil retirement of his palace, dwells with anxiety on the happinefs of his people, the mother of the world prepares in this abode,

abode, defended by fuch terrible aventies, the flowers with which ſhe is to deck our plains.

The waſte made by the icy maſs, to feed its lower branches, and the prodigious loſs occaſioned by evaporation, would not be ſufficient to counterbalance the continual increaſe which it receives, if the upper ſnows did not deſcend into the region where they are to be diſſolved, although with that ſlowneſs which characteriſes their regular progreſs, and under the ſolid form which they acquire by this gradual deſcent, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace the heights being overloaded with their weight, and not having the faculty of retaining them on their ſteep declivities, precipitate them, under the form of *lavanges*, into regions where the rays of the ſun have more active force.

Having

Having by this means prematurely reached the limit to which they all tend, they are exposed, without shelter, to the action of the heat, and melt with a celerity which soon re-establishes the balance between the loss and the increase. Different causes contribute to favour the removal of these masses of snow, and the inhabitants of the country give different names to this phænomenon, according to their causes, and to the forms which it receives from them. It is on this account they are called lavanges of cold, lavanges of heat, lavanges of wind, and lavanges of dust*.

A mass

* The word *lavange* is derived from the German term *lavine*, by which the inhabitants of the Swiss Alps distinguish this phænomenon. That of *Avalanche*, which expresses the same thing, and which is more in use in the *Romanish* country, has for its etymology the old word *aval*, to descend, which is no longer un-

A mass of snow, which its own weight alone detaches from the heights, on the slope of which it was suspended, is what is called a lavange of cold, because it is generally in winter that the accumulation of snow determines its descent. The fall is always accompanied by a dreadful crash, and nothing can resist its course. Habitations, whole villages are buried under it; forests are levelled with the ground; rocks bend before the shock, and are dragged on with the current. The air, agitated by the precipitation of this enormous mass, carries the devastation into places which the snows cannot reach; a hurricane is less violent in its effects, and sometimes the traveller, who journeys out of the reach of the lavange, has been thrown down headlong, or stifled by this understood in this sense; or rather from the adverb a-val, from the Monkish Latin *ad vallem*, which is the origin of the word.

impetuous

impetuous blast, loaded with particles of ice.

The lavange of *heat* or *dust* differs but little from the preceding. It has the same origin, but is less compact; it falls less in a mass, and by dividing itself, it covers a greater extent of ground; the snow which composes it is an icy powder, extremely fine and light. During the hot days of summer, we frequently hear a noise like that of thunder, or of a torrent which throws itself from a considerable height on a surface of rock; it is one of these distant lavanges, which falls from rock to rock, under the form of a cascade of water raised into foam. A hot wind, which blows from the southern region, and which the inhabitants of the Swiss Alps call *Foen*, the same which from the first days of the month of March changes at once the temperature of the air in the

neighbouring countries, which in one day enamels the meadows with violets, and gives him who breathes it the first feelings of spring; the Sirocco of the Italians sweeps in a short time the summit of the Alps. At that period lavanges follow one another without intermission, the torrents rush from every glacier; and the rivers suddenly swelled, overflow their banks. When the wind rises, it finds a mass of icy air above the Alps, which opposes its passage, and with which it struggles, but it is only at the end of two days that it has power to take its place, and the inhabitants of the northern plains of Switzerland feel, for two days, a cold wind which they know precedes the burning wind they shall feel on the third day*.

The

* This takes place in Suabia and Alsace, though in a much less sensible manner. No where else is felt this sudden change of season, which has something ma-

gical

The lavange of *wind* is, of the number of phænomena of this kind, that which appertains most to the high mountains of the northerly parts of the globe. It is a shifting of snows, occasioned during the winter, by violent hurricanes. These snows, which the cold has preserved in their state of lightness, are carried away by the winds, and transported to a great distance.

The aspect of the region, where these winds exercise their fury, is changed in an instant; woe to those who are then wandering on their heights! the paths which their footsteps have traced, disappear;

gical in it, and which makes so delicious an impression on every being; the succession is slow and gradual, and the opposite temperature coming into contact by shades scarcely perceptible, give nature a monotonous progress, which affects the mind only with vague sensations.

the marks set up at regular distances to point out the direction of the roads are thrown to the ground; and if the unhappy traveller is not buried under this furious sea, he throws his eyes with despair over an immense ocean, with nothing to direct his steps, and which offers no other inequalities than the vast waves, the moving surface of which has been ploughed by the winds. It is thus that nature, in her general views, overlooks partial evils. No sacrifice is too great, when the preservation of her original plan is concerned; and while she is careful to conceal her unchangeableness under an inexhaustible variety of forms, of what importance is it that one of her steps occasions the removal, or annihilation of any of those beings, which she scatters with so much profusion over the surface of the globe.

I shall

I shall confine to this rapid outline, the picture of the objects which my abode, amidst the Alps has offered me.

Placed in the centre of the richest and most temperate part of the globe, these mountains bring us in contact with the most savage and most frozen regions of the earth. If we take a view of them relatively to their constituent parts, we shall find a respectable remnant of the first sketch of our planet, an immoveable chain of simple rocks, which have kept their seat amidst the revolutions of the earth, and which have witnessed around them the birth and decay of those fortuitous and tumultuous aggregations, those slow masses, the secondary mountains, children of the caprices of nature, and fleeting as these caprices. Within their bosom they conceal virgin fossils, as antient as themselves, and crystals, the faithful companions of glaciers,

ciers. It is only at their feet that we see those calcareous, or argillaceous investments, the strata of which contain wrecks of beings which live on the surface of the earth, or in the gulphs of the sea; those sinuous hills, that wind around their basis, which cover the primitive vallies with a foreign soil, the different states of which bear evidence to the lapses of ages, from which the primordial mountains have received little injury, and of which they preserve scarcely any traces.

If we consider the height of these mountains, various other phænomena present themselves to our minds. The height of thirty fathoms raises you a degree above the equator, and the same variations of temperature which local circumstances, such as the vicinity or the distance of seas, the extent or absence of forests, make in the temperature of climates,

in a gradual progress towards the pole, are found as you pass through the different successive strata of the atmosphere, represented by the irregularities which are caused by the exposure of mountains, with respect to the sun, the reflection of neighbouring surfaces, and the distance of the ice, in the regular diminution of the heat. In a greater elevation, such irregularities diminish as those local circumstances have less influence nearer the poles. At twelve or thirteen hundred fathoms height, you are at the eightieth degree of latitude, and in a walk of a few hours you have felt the influence of all the seasons; seen the production of every climate; ran through the whole scale of vegetation, and compared the birds of Italy with those of northern lakes and continents*.

To

* A naturalist of Rome, Mr. Springlein, has formed, with considerable taste and expence, a complete collection

To sum up all, you have passed the bounds of the most frozen habitable zone. At seventy-five degrees you meet with vast forests; but they are not to be found in the Alps at the height of eleven hundred fathoms. Here the cold is attended with a shortness of the column of air; there it is maintained by the obliquity of the sun's rays. It appears that vegetable life yields soonest to the impression of the first of these circumstances, and we should find ourselves in the most horrid of all regions, if a wonderfully serene sky, if the purest splendour of the sun did not take place of the eternal fogs which cover the polar continent, and the pale glimmering which trickles along its desolate frosts.

lection of the birds of the Alps, which consists of about five hundred specimens. It contains the species peculiar to every climate from the south of Italy to the north of America.

Let

Let no one imagine that existence is for a moment painful in the midst of these deserts. A temperature, such as the presence of a cloudless sun, is always an enjoyment, notwithstanding the cold of the atmosphere; an air which is respirable at the highest degree, notwithstanding its rarefaction; waters which have preserved the purity they have acquired, when raised to the clouds, because in falling back on the earth they have not crossed the pestilential vapours which hover over our plains; those waters which, offering to the parched traveller no perfidious beverage, engage him to quench his burning thirst without apprehension of the fatal effects arising from their coolness*; these things are

* This quality of the waters which proceed from a glacier is proved, not only by the experience of all those who have made use of it, but still more by the opinions of the physicians of Switzerland. I am not well

are what first strike the senses. The most excessive fatigue vanishes in an instant; strength is renewed; courage and tranquillity take place of uneasiness; in a word, the body and mind undergo a transformation which extends and multiplies all their faculties. However wonderful what I have advanced may appear, I shall not want evidences of its truth, and shall only find those incredulous, who have never ascended above the plain. I call these to witness, who have scaled some of well acquainted with the explanation they give of this phenomenon; but for my own part, having often drank of it I should be tempted to think that this innocence is owing less to their quality, than to the disposition of the body, which finding a very rarefied atmosphere in the heights, does not receive from the friction of its own parts a degree of heat comparable to that of which it is susceptible in our plains. Besides, in these regions we are never at rest, we are ever in activity, and the cooling being only momentary, cannot suspend the perspiration.

the

the heights of the globe; is there a single person who did not find himself regenerated; who did not feel with surprise, that he had left at the feet of the mountains, his weakness, his infirmities, his cares, his troubles, in a word, the weaker part of his being, and the ulcerated portion of his heart? Who among them but will acknowledge that at no moment of his life, in the age even of his warmest passions, in the midst of circumstances which have given the greatest force to his imagination, he has never felt himself so disposed to that kind of enthusiasm which kindles great ideas!

In fine, who, in beholding from that station the immensity of the celestial spheres, and the nothingness of our planet, can think without some feeling of contempt on what we call great, or of pity on what we deem

deem important? Let not this appear wonderful; every thing in these regions is of colossal magnitude: the eye lost in the immense chaos of mountains which it surveys, thinks it beholds an universe, and this universe is but a point when it contemplates the azure space in which we wander. Nothing distracts or misleads the mind employed on these sublime objects. The silence of these deserts, where nothing breathes, or moves, beyond the tumult of the habitable world; the view of these profound abysses; of valleys which those immoveable cliffs have beheld alternately desert and cultivated, peopled to-day, to-morrow desolated, the asylum of so many alternately happy and miserable mortals, the theatre of so many changes; every thing concurs to make our meditations more profound; to give them that melancholy hue, that sublime character

character which they acquire, when the soul, taking that flight which makes it contemporary with every age, and co-existent with all beings, hovers over the abyss of time. In vain would reason strive to count by years. The solidity of these enormous masses, opposed to the accumulation of their ruins, startles and confounds all its calculations. Imagination seizes the reins which Reason drops, and in that long succession of periods, catches a glimpse of the image of eternity, which she hails with religious terror. How has every thing vanished, which occupies, enchants, and astonishes us here below, when we compare it with the objects of glory that are set before us! Thus, our most extended ideas, and our most elevated and noble sentiments have their origin in the wanderings of the imagination; but let us forgive its chimeras, for what would there be great in

in our conceptions, or glorious in our actions, if finite was not, through its illusions, continually changed into infinite, space into immensity, time into eternity, and fading laurels into immortal crowns!



THE END



Williams, Helen Maria, 1762-1827

A tour in Switzerland; or, A view of the present state of the gavernments
and manners of those cantons with comparitive sketches of the present
state of Paris

Bd.: 2. - 2. ed. - 1798. - VIII, 352 S.

London 1798

It.sing. 1436 r-2

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10469185-5